

**THE TERÁN DE LOS RÍOS-MASSANET EXPEDITION OF 1691:  
A SCHOLARLY EDITION AND COMPARATIVE STUDY**

A Thesis

by

SHEILA PAT JORDAN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

May 2004

Major Subject: Modern Languages

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## **ABSTRACT**

The Terán de los Ríos-Massanet Expedition of 1691: A Scholarly Edition and  
Comparative Study. (May 2004)

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This thesis edits and compares two diaries written during one of the earliest Spanish expeditions into Texas during 1691-1692. The first governor of the Province of the Tejas Indians, Domingo Terán de los Ríos, steered the military and exploratory aspects of this significant expedition during 1691 and 1692, while Father Damián Massanet investigated the anticipated establishment of missions in the frontier borderland of New Spain. Both men kept individual accounts of the expedition at the behest of the Crown. Textual evidence for these diaries consists of the original manuscript of Terán's diary with three extant copies, and Massanet's original manuscript with two copies.

Until now, unedited transcriptions and an English-language translation have served as the source for historical studies of this expedition, but to date none of these manuscripts has been edited critically. Having compared systematically the most reliable manuscript of Terán's diary, as well as the original Massanet diary, this thesis presents findings that pertain to the shared and divergent content and language found in the diaries. The findings include new historical information and clarification of discrepancies in daily events, distances traveled, assignment of names to specific places,

and interactions with the indigenous population. The differences manifested in each diary highlight the disparity in purpose and perspective between a military expedition and a spiritual mission. Likewise, the findings underscore the challenges and differences of opinion faced by two leaders of a consolidated expedition.

This thesis includes an introductory chapter with the following segments: background of the two expeditions of 1689 and 1690 that preceded and laid the foundation for the third, more ambitious expedition of Terán and Massanet; an overview of the third expedition; and a review of the literature concerning the expedition. The second chapter concerns the transcriptions of the diaries of Terán and Massanet, and contains the following divisions: methodology; descriptions of both manuscripts; the norms of transcription; the transcription of Massanet's manuscript; and the transcription of Terán's manuscript that corresponds to the dates of the Massanet diary. After the transcriptions is an analysis of the first month of the expedition, from May 16 to June 16. This analysis deals with the content and language of the diaries. The final chapter presents conclusions and areas for future research. This work is relevant for historians, linguists, philologists, anthropologists, archeologists and other scholars interested in the history of the Spanish Southwest.

## **DEDICATION**

This work is lovingly dedicated first to He who created me and to my parents, Earl and Pat Jordan. May I always honor each of you.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project came to fruition because of the inspiration of several individuals. Although this brief page mentions only some of the specific names, my heart and memory hold dear all those who invested time, patience, wisdom and encouragement in me so that I might finish this project, not somehow, but with strength. Special thanks first to Dr. Brian Imhoff, my co-chair, who matched my interest and passion with his own, and then masterfully guided me through this project with his expertise. His ideas, feedback, instruction and support helped me over many hurdles during this process. His own commitment to excellence set the standard for this project as well. Likewise, without the vision and commitment of Dr. Nancy Joe Dyer I could not have realized that although I got a late start out of the gate in my academic life I could still contribute to the field of Hispanic letters. The consistency, excellence and investment of both of these people have made me a better student. I would also like to thank Dr. Armando Alonzo for serving as a committee member. Thanks also belong to Dr. Richard Curry for his always-open door, which found me knocking many times. He always made problems smaller than they seemed, and knew how to make me laugh – crucial components to success in any field. I am also grateful to the other faculty and staff in the Department of Hispanic Studies, for creating a place of vitality that challenges students to grow – personally, intellectually and professionally.

To my friends and family – unsung heroes. I could not have done this without each of you in the balcony bleachers of my life. Your unwavering support,

encouragement and understanding made this dream a reality. It is not mine alone. Nor would I want it to be.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
AGNMexHist	Archivo General de la Nación, Historia, México, D.F.
AGNMexPI	Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, México, D.F.
BNMexAF	Biblioteca Nacional de México, Archivo Franciscano, México, D.F.
BAGNMex	Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, México
DA	Diccionario de Autoridades
DM	Diccionario de Mejicanismos
DRAE	Diccionario de Real Academia Española
DRSW	Documentary Relations of the Southwest Indexes
NHT	New Handbook of Texas

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents, for the first time, a scholarly and semi-paleographic transcription of the 1691-1692 Tejas expeditionary diary of Father Damián Massanet as well as a transcription of the corresponding dates of the diary of Domingo Terán de los Ríos. The transcription covers the entirety of Massanet's diary, from May 16-August 2, 1691. The transcription of Terán's diary covers the same time frame as Massanet's. The comparative study that follows the transcriptions covers the first month of the expedition, from May 16-June 16, 1691. The transcription of Massanet's diary is based on the original manuscript, Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, fols. 400-413 (AGNMexPI). For the Terán diary, the transcribed portion is held in the Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, fols. 453r-461r (AGNMexPI). Hence, sigla refer to these manuscripts of the diaries: Terán de los Ríos (TR), Massanet (M). This edition presents the first comparative study of the two original manuscripts.

#### **Overview of Two Expeditions Preceding the Terán-Massanet Expedition**

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Hernando de Soto explored but found no treasures in the land of present-day northwestern and northeastern Texas prior to 1689. This did not prevent Spain from claiming this immense terrain as its own, although the Crown did not enforce this claim by establishing its presence in this region of the New World. Unsuccessful attempts by the Spaniards to begin missions in this region in the

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This thesis follows the style and format of Southwest Journal of Linguistics.

early seventeenth century included one established for the Jumano Indians on the Concho River in 1632, which lasted only six months (Chipman 1992: 82-84). Other missions established in the 1680's were more successful. These included a mission near El Paso and another near the junction of the Rio Grande and the Mexican Conchos River (Foster 1995: 1).

The Spanish rekindled their interest in the land of the Tejas Indians when faced with renewed French incursion into the territory. The military forces of seventeenth-century France and Spain were battling on the eastern side of the Atlantic while the New World expeditionary forces simultaneously vied for territorial control (Bannon 1997: 108). Both France and Spain authorized expeditions into the New World to establish military and political control of the land and the indigenous tribal populations. In 1685, the explorer René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle established the first French settlement among the Indians of the Province of Tejas in the Matagorda Bay area (Chipman 1992: 86). When news of Gallic success reached King Charles II of Spain, he ordered expeditions into the territory to raze the French settlement and re-establish Spanish control.

The Viceroy of New Spain, Conde de Galve, and his ruling council brokered the circumstances, details, and to some extent, the outcomes, of these expeditions. Alonso De León, accompanied by Fray Damián Massanet, a Franciscan friar from the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Querétaro, led the first two official *entradas*, one in 1689 and another

in 1690.<sup>1</sup> De León's report of the 1689 expedition favorably described the Tejas Indians and thus encouraged the Viceroy and the friar, who intended to convert the Indians to Christianity. Father Damián Massanet volunteered himself and the services of his fellow priests from Querétaro should the Crown authorize further missions among the Tejas Indians (Castañeda 1936-58: 48; Gómez Canedo 1988: 114-115). De León also offered military recommendations, although the Viceroy and his governing council largely ignored these more militaristic and costly suggestions (Weddle 1999: 224). However, officials in Mexico City viewed French intrusion as a serious matter and authorized De León to select enough soldiers to prevent any further French penetration into Texas (Chipman 1992: 88). The size of De León's company, 110 Spanish soldiers, troubled Father Massanet because he believed De León held a militaristic vision for the conversion of the Indians. Massanet adamantly opposed military involvement in matters of the Church. These dichotomous viewpoints, military might versus the perceived gentler light of the Church, manifested themselves in significant ways for decades and contributed to the successes as well as failures of Spain in the Hispanic Southwest.

Given De León's proven expertise and vast experience, it is worth noting the circumstances that led to the selection of Domingo Terán de los Ríos as commander of the third *entrada* into the Province of Tejas. Massanet advanced to the rank of co-leader alongside de los Ríos, instead of serving as an ambassador of the Church and subordinate to the military authority of Terán de los Ríos. This illustrates a posture by

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<sup>1</sup> Alonso De León made earlier exploratory excursions into the territory from 1686-1688. See Chipman 1992: 78-79 for more biographical information concerning Alonso De León and his earliest journeys into the northern reaches of New Spain.

the Spanish Crown to not only include, but give significant power to the Church in its endeavors of exploring, claiming and conquering the land and peoples of the New World.

The Viceroy, Conde de Galve, convened a session with his governing council in 1689 to decide the leadership and preparation details of the next expedition. The council ruled favorably on Massanet's proposal to intensify the conversion effort of the Indians in East Texas (Alessio Robles 1938: 364). The panel also initiated preparations for a mission among the Tejas Indians. Massanet participated in the planning stages and with the blessings of the Church, priests of the Franciscan college at Querétaro held responsibility for manning the missionary effort. Conde de Galve also charged Massanet with the religious leadership of the expedition.

De León and his expeditionary party departed from Monclova in late March of 1690.<sup>2</sup> They were to torch the remains of La Salle's Fort St. Louis on Matagorda Bay, seek out remaining members of La Salle's colony and, finally, if the Tejas chieftain whom De León met on his first expedition requested their presence, the expeditionary party was to escort the priests to the nation of the Tejas and establish a mission (Foster 1995: 33; Chipman 1992: 89). Each of these charges was accomplished. After arriving at Fort St. Louis on Matagorda Bay on April 26th, 1690, the wooden fort was burned, allegedly by the hand of Massanet (Chipman 1992: 89; Bolton 1996: 214). Members of the expeditionary party also recovered two French youths from the Indians, and a few days later rescued several other French children living among the coastal Karankawas

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<sup>2</sup> See Herbert E. Bolton (1916: 405-23) for an annotated translation of De León's diary. Gómez Canedo (1988: 152-66) provides a modernized Spanish version of the 1690 diary.

Indians (Castañeda 1936-58: 52). By May 22nd, with the expeditionary party almost fifty miles northeast of the Trinity River, De León planted the Spanish flag at San Francisco de los Tejas, the foundation of the first mission in East Texas (Bolton 1936: 168; Foster 1995: 42). On June 1st, 1690, Massanet celebrated Mass in the new church, after which De León, Massanet and the remainder of the expeditionary party returned to Coahuila, leaving behind three friars and only three soldiers to man the mission. De León had requested a company of fifty soldiers remain, but Massanet refused in the name of peace and with an eye towards conversion of the Indians through peaceful means, not by military force.

Upon returning to Coahuila, De León filed a report of his journey announcing the complete destruction of La Salle's colony at Matagorda Bay (Gómez Canedo: 167-171). This news had two powerful results. It reinforced Spain's commitment to reestablishing herself as a world power, and, because Massanet and other influential religious viewed the disaster at Fort St. Louis as "renewed proof of God's divine aid and favor," it emboldened the leaders of the Church who sought conversion of the New World tribal populations (Dunn 1917: 111). De León's report also suggested the manner in which Spain should continue with the exploration and settlement of the region. Massanet submitted a report to the Viceroy as well. He requested a total of fourteen priests and seven lay brothers for the Texas mission field. He also seconded De León's recommendations for the establishment of a mission on the banks of the Guadalupe River (Chipman 1992: 92-93). Conde de Galve and his governing council considered both men's recommendations and eventually implemented most of Massanet's plan,



mainly because his suggestions required less initial start-up monies from the already slim balances in the Spanish coffers.

Massanet's professional and political success corresponded inversely with the apparent failures of De León. Despite vast knowledge of the territories, De León lost favor with the Crown and the Viceroy eventually recalled him to return to the province of Coahuila, ostensibly to protect the settled territories from continuing Indian hostilities, while the priest, Massanet, along with Terán de los Ríos, received joint appointments to lead the third expedition. The previous biographical backgrounds of these two men provide insights into the reasons the Viceroy chose these men to lead the pivotal expedition of 1691-1692.

Prior to the third expedition, Father Massanet, a native of Mallorca, arrived in New Spain as early as 1687. He served as a member of the Franciscan Colegio de Santa Cruz at Querétaro. Several Indian nations inhabited the area surrounding Querétaro, so Massanet was familiar with the complexities of forming relationships with the Indians (Gerhard 1972: 224-26). Having heard news of the conversion of Indians across the Rio Grande through the miraculous works of Mother Agreda, he welcomed the opportunity to accompany Alonso De León on the expeditions of 1689 and 1690. In the latter trip of 1690, he supervised the founding of the first mission in Texas, San Francisco de los Tejas. His letters to the Viceroy after these expeditions were pivotal in convincing the Viceroy to initiate bold plans for expanding the Spanish presence northward, and to finalize plans for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. His letter to Carlos de Sigüenza and Góngora (AGNMexHist, vol. 301, esp. 16, fols. 78-99), translated into

English by Lilia M. Casís (1899: 253-312) and his contributions to the diaries of the expeditions led by De León comprise some of the earliest and most important sources documenting early Texas, as well as attesting to the presence of different Indian tribes inhabiting the region during the colonial period (Foster 1995: 54).

Terán, the newly appointed expeditionary leader, had spent thirty years on the American continent, serving in Peru and other regions of New Spain. He served as the governor of Sinaloa and Sonora in New Spain before being appointed leader of the third expedition. He was simultaneously named the first governor of the Province of the Tejas (Chipman 1992: 94; DRSW; NHT).

As the newly appointed co-leaders of the third expedition into the Province of Tejas, Terán and Massanet received instructions that reflected Spanish determination to maintain dominance over the French through the missions. The Viceroy authorized seven additional religious settlements among the Tejas and neighboring tribes. Terán and Massanet were ordered to explore the province thoroughly, to note the flora and fauna as well as the peoples encountered, and to document any continued presence of the French in the region. Terán was also informed by the Viceroy that Massanet's authority trumped his in matters of formulating policy (AGNMexPI, vol. 182, fols. 500-01). Vastly distinct from the cursory tone of De León's expeditions, the *entrada* of Terán and Massanet, but nature of its size, provisions, instructions, and not least, Massanet's elevated status, signaled the commitment of the Spanish Crown to establish permanent settlements in the land of the Tejas (Chipman 1992: 94).

The expedition jointly led by Terán de los Ríos and Damián Massanet served as a new starting point for reestablishing a missionary presence and a military prominence in the northern reaches of the territory of New Spain. Future expeditions ensured a land influenced more by the Spanish than the French and which would eventually extend to modern New Mexico, Arizona and California. The analysis portion of this thesis limits itself to the first month of the expedition, May 16 – June 16, as previously mentioned. Therefore, this overview includes only the highlights of the remaining portions of Terán's expedition, which lasted from August, 1691 until early March, 1692.

### **Overview of the Third Expedition**

The expedition started from two separate places. Terán, who was in charge of soldiers, stock, and supplies, departed with his group from Monclova, the Presidio of Coahuila on May 16, 1691. Massanet and his staff of priests who would establish the anticipated missions, departed from Mission San Salvador del Valle de Santiago, also in the jurisdiction of Coahuila. The two camps converged on Monday, May 21 at Charco del Pescado (M 401v30). The combined party set out together on Saturday, May 26. Various legs comprised the expedition. The Viceroy arranged for the military aspect of this *entrada* to be resupplied by a marine expeditionary effort, composed of fifty soldiers under the leadership of Captain Gregorio de Salinas Varona. This group had instructions to meet Captain Francisco Martínez, who would depart from the Terán-Massanet land-

based encampment and travel to Matagorda Bay to pick up supplies and carry them back to the overland expeditionary encampment.<sup>3</sup>

The first leg of the expedition followed the same route De León traveled in the previous two expeditions. Terán and Massanet covered almost five-hundred miles during this portion of the expedition, which extended from El Charco de Pescado to just past the Trinity River. On August 1, 1691, Massanet and his fellow priests left the joint campsite with no advance warning and traveled ahead of Terán and his troops to arrive at the Mission San Francisco de los Texas. Terán and his troops did not arrive at the mission until August 6. Terán then rested his troops for approximately three weeks before undertaking the return journey, leaving Massanet and the priests in the missionary field to continue the evangelical enterprise they intended from the onset of the expedition.

Governor Terán began the return march toward Matagorda Bay on August 24.<sup>4</sup> He intended to lead the core of his troops and supplies to the campsite located at the Guadalupe and Vado del Gobernador crossing. De León followed this same route in his passage through the territory. Captain Martínez, familiar with the trail, led the troops to the place because Terán was unfamiliar with its location. Terán planned to leave the majority of his men at this site with Martínez, while he and a few of the soldiers would head toward the bay. He planned to locate the Salinas marine contingent that Martínez had missed on his trip to Matagorda Bay in July. If Salinas had not arrived, the governor

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<sup>3</sup> Neither Terán or Massanet relate the account of the excursion by Martínez to Matagorda Bay. The diary Martínez kept of the trip lists his departure date as July 3rd. When Martínez arrived at the bay, he saw no vessel, and by July 19 he had returned to the main party empty-handed (Foster 1995: 68). To date, the author has found no English translation of the diary kept by Captain Martínez.

<sup>4</sup> The focus of this thesis limits itself to the first segment of the expedition described in the preceding paragraph. Therefore, this overview includes only the highlights of the remaining portions of Terán's expedition which lasted from August, 1691 until early March, 1692.

would return to the Guadalupe encampment, reconvene with his troops and return back to the origination point of the expedition in Monclova (Foster 1995: 66-67).

On September 8, Terán and his party came in contact with troops from Captain Salinas' command, and later the same day, made contact with Salinas himself, who told them he had been waiting since July 2 (Chipman 1992: 96). Salinas had orders from the Viceroy directing the Governor to return to Tejas and explore further east. Terán then recalled troops to Matagorda Bay, where they reorganized for the next part of the expedition. They departed Matagorda on September 27, headed more northeast than north-northeast, with the result that their final destination was the unexplored region of the Caddodacho nation (Chipman 1992: 96-97).

Massanet and three priests joined Terán on November 6, arriving at the Sabine River on November 13. Extreme winter weather conditions prevented moving into East Texas until a bridge could be constructed that allowed them to cross the Cypress Bayou, north of present day Marshall (Foster 1995: 69). Terán and thirty soldiers then departed from the main party, moving further north-northeast. On December 5, Terán began the return trip to the locale of the missions in East Texas. By early January 1692, the Governor was back at Mission San Francisco, pushing to return to the campsite at Matagorda Bay (Foster 1995: 69-71). More severe weather conditions convinced six of the missionaries who had been with Father Massanet to abandon the mission with Terán's company. Accumulated snow and ice prevented travel along any clear roads. By February 1, the search for the shortest route back to Matagorda Bay was on and finally, after recruiting an Indian guide, Terán's group reached the Brazos River near the

Navasota junction on or near February 11. The party then followed a south-southwesterly direction toward the bay area, arriving at Real de Santa Margarita de Buenavista (Lavaca Bay) on March 5. On March 24, 1692, Terán left the bay on a ship bound for Veracruz, leaving Captain Francisco Martínez in charge of the expedition to return by land to New Spain, concluding the expedition.

### **Review of Literature**

The earliest studies of the Terán-Massanet expedition (Bancroft 1886; Bolton 1936; Clark 1907; Morphis 1874) fail to include much, if not all, of the divergent information from the contents of Terán and Massanet's diaries. Only more recent studies include the Massanet diary (Chipman 1992; Foster 1995; Gómez Canedo 1988; Weddle 1999). Mattie Austin Hatcher translated the only English version available of both diaries in 1932 (10-67). Hatcher used the extant copy, AGNMexHist, as her base manuscript. This copy, written almost a century after the expedition took place, is the most erroneous of the manuscripts available. Paul J. Foik explains in his foreword to her English version of the diaries that the translator made a comparative study of all the manuscripts, observing and noting differences to give a more exact and faithful interpretation (1999: 1). This does not appear to be the case. Omissions and factual errors mar Hatcher's translation. For example, in M fol. 401v4, Massanet describes a lagoon containing a great deal of fish *bagre* 'catfish' and clams; Hatcher (1932: 48) translates *almeja* ('clam') as 'perch' in the English translation. Later in the diary, (M fol. 403v32) Massanet describes another lagoon containing a great deal of fish and bass. Here Hatcher (1932: 52) also translates the Spanish word *robalo* ('bass') as 'perch.'

Concerning the direction traveled, Terán's entries of June 4, 5, and 6, (TR fols. 456v1, 5, 11-12) records the direction traveled as northeast, a quarter to the north. Hatcher (1932: 12) translates the direction on each of these days by inverting the directions: "toward the north, a quarter to the northeast" (1932: 12). These variants show that either the later extant copy (AGNMexHist) underwent changes from the original diaries or that Hatcher mistranslated the content. Her translation of Terán's diary also omits the entry for July 24. Foster (1995: 75), following Hatcher, states the missed entry as July 23.

Some studies (Bolton 1916; Chipman 1992; Weddle 1999) state that the manuscripts of the diaries have been consulted without citing clearly which manuscript served as the source; some (Bolton 1916; Foster 1995; Chipman 1992) rely primarily on Terán's diary or the error-laden Hatcher translation as the primary source.

This thesis presents, for the first time, a transcription of the original manuscript of Massanet's diary as well as the corresponding text from the diary of Terán de los Ríos, both from a photographic copy. The two new transcriptions provide textual support for analysis based on the earliest and most reliable manuscripts of this expedition. An analysis based on these transcriptions also demonstrates the importance of taking into account both original diaries, instead of relying on studies based on hybrid combinations or erroneous translations of the expedition.

## CHAPTER II

### TRANSCRIPTIONS

#### **Methodology**

In order to discover all extant copies of manuscripts of the Terán-Massanet expedition of 1691, the author searched the indexes of the database Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW) and archival indexes. This edition and study utilizes photostatic copies of the original documents.

#### **Terán Diary Manuscripts**

*1. Manuscript Tradition.* The extant sources for the Terán diary include the following documents: 1) Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas (AGNMexPI), vol. 182, fols. 453-95, entitled *Diario del año 1691* (Dairy from the year 1691); 2) Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, vol. 617 (AGI); 3) Biblioteca Nacional de México, Archivo Franciscano (BNMexAF), caja 1, fols. 147ss. (before vol. IX); 4) Archivo General de la Nación, Historia, (AGNMexHist), vol. 27, fols. 23-74. The diary of Terán is catalogued under the section entitled *Documentos para la historia eclesiastica y civil de la provincia de Texas* (Documents for the ecclesiastical and civil history of the Province of Texas). Some of the external history of the manuscripts of Terán's diary is known.

The manuscript AGNMexPI is believed to be the first diary of Terán, or the first copy if the original no longer exists (Gómez Canedo 1988: 181). Terán sailed to Veracruz after the expedition, and while there he had a copy made of his diary which was remitted to Spain. Today, this extant copy of Terán's diary is housed in Seville,



Spain, in the Archivo de Indias, Audiencia de México, vol. 617 (AGI). The manuscript BNMexAF was made for the purpose of the General Commissary of the Fransiscan order of priests in New Spain, probably not later than 1725 (Gómez Canedo 1988: 181). The final extant copy listed above, AGNMexHist, was composed toward the end of the eighteenth century (Gómez Canedo 1988: 181). This manuscript became the base text for the only English translation of the Terán diary (Hatcher 1932: 9-47). The 1988 modern Spanish version of the diary (Gómez Canedo: 181-228) utilizes AGNMexPI as the base manuscript.

2. *Base Text for Terán's Diary.* This thesis uses as its base the manuscript AGNMexPI, vol. 182, fols. 453-95. Several factors led to this decision. The manuscript bears the signature and rubric of Terán himself. Other scholars who have undertaken studies of the four manuscripts confirm this to be the original diary of Terán as well (Bancroft 1884: 28; Bolton 1936: 184; Chipman 1993: 86; Foster 1995: 51; Gómez Canedo 1988: 181). Massanet's diary is more complete, accurate, and thorough than Terán's. This edition will undertake a comparative analysis using Terán's original, fols. 453-61, as the basis. This study will highlight differences and disparities between each account of the expedition.

A paleographic analysis of the photocopies reveals that the manuscript AGNMex vol. 182, fols. 453 – 461 appears to be written throughout by the same hand, contains one set of marginalia, an index on the right side of the page indicating distances traveled, in the same hand as the text. The text also states the distances traveled. To enhance readability, the transcription omits this right marginalia.

Orthographic characteristics of this manuscript include:

- “m” before bilabials almost exclusively **rrumbo** 456r14, **tiempo** 456r14;  
exceptions: 456r12 **enpressa** 456r12;
- “r” word-initial is represented inconsistently as “R” ~ “rr” ~ “r”:  
**rreferido** 454r20; **referido** 454v1, **Ryo** 454v5;
- “z” ~ “s” ~ “c” ~ “ç” frequently, but not exclusively in word-initial,  
medial and final position: **zelo** 454r8, **zedula** 458r10, **zibola** 454r2,  
**demarcacion** 454r2, **pequeñez** 456r12, **Discrepçion** 454r1;
- frequent but not exclusive use of “y” for “i” in word-initial position:  
**yntitule** 456v4, **ynquizition** 457v26;
- “u” ~ “v” and visa versa: **uimos** 456r16, **vna** 456r13;
- “v” ~ “b”: **riuera** 456v8

The types and uses of punctuation devices include:

- semicolons mark the end of many sentences;
- commas indicate pauses within a sentence, separate a list of items, and  
end a sentence;
- periods appear, but not with regularity, and indicate the end of a sentence;

Other formal characteristics of the manuscript include:

- below the last line of text on both sides of each folio in the bottom margin a line extends from the left to right margin, in its center a decorative symbol consisting of two horizontal lines intersected by an embellished circle, possibly represents a scribal signature;
- tildes appear over various vowels in the manuscript: **tanttêõ** 454r2, **õmiten** 454r17, **ãlcansse** 455v1, **Õdo-** 455v5;
- single strokes of varying length serve as end-of-line fillers;
- capitalization is frequent but not standardized; upper case letters name Indian nations, directions, beginning of some, but not all sentences, names and titles of individuals.

### **Massanet Diary Manuscripts**

*1. Manuscript Tradition.* Massanet's diary includes the following extant: 1)

Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas (AGNMexPI), vol. 182, fols. 400-413 entitled *Diario y derrotero a la prouincia de los Techas / que se hizo el año de nouenta / y uno en la jornada que / se hizo por horden / del ex<celentisi>mo s<eño>r Con / de de Galue / virrey y /capi<ta>n / gen<era>l / desta / Nueva / Espa / ña* (Diary and course to the Province of the Techas that was made in 1691 during the expedition that was made on orders of His Excellency Señor Conde del Galve, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain). The heading reads *Año de 1691* (Year of 1691). Other manuscripts of the Massanet diary include: 2) Archivo General de la Nación, Historia (AGNMexHist), vol. 27, fols. 87-112, under the section entitled *Documentos para la historia eclesiastica*

*y civil de la provincia de Texas* (Documents for the ecclesiastical and civil history of the Province of Texas); 3) Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación (BAGNMex), tomo XXVIII, 1957, pp. 349-75.

The manuscript AGNMexPI is believed to be the first diary of Massanet's, or the first copy if the original no longer exists (Gómez Canedo 1988: 228). The modern 1957 copy was based on the later defective copy AGNMexHist, vol. 27, fols. 87-112. Mattie Austin Hatcher (1932: 47-66) utilized the later and defective manuscript AGNMexHist as her base manuscript for the only English translation available of Massanet's diary. The modern 1957 copy BAGNMex also utilized the defective manuscript AGNMexHist, vol. 27, fols. 87-112 as its base text. Lino Gómez Canedo (1988: 228-249) composed a modern Spanish version of Massanet's diary utilizing AGNMexPI as the base text.

2. *Base Text for Massanet's Diary*. This thesis uses as its base the manuscript AGNMexPI, vol. 182, fols. 400-13. A paleographic analysis of the photocopies reveals that the manuscript AGNMex, vol. 182, fols. 400-13 is signed by Massanet and is his own signature, although it lacks a rubric after his autograph. This missing rubric does not diminish the authenticity of the signature because the *Parecer* of July 19, 1691 (AGNMexHist, vol. 301, exp. 16, fols. 78-99) and the certification given after the completion of Terán's diary account, both signed by Massanet and the other missionaries on the expedition and also do not contain his rubric. The signatures appear to be written in the same hand.

With respect to its physical description, the upper right corner bears two sets of numbers: the first written in the hand of the scribe, numbering the pages of the diary; the

second represents a later folio number. A minimum of two different writing instruments (or possibly two different hands) are discernible (fols. 405r, 410v and 412r in particular). The marginalia contains an index on the right side of the page and specifies distances traveled. The writing of the marginalia appears to be written in the same hand as the text. Just as in the Terán diary, the transcription omits the right marginalia, facilitating readability of the text.

The manuscript's orthographic characteristics include:

- “n” almost exclusively before bilabials: **tiempo** 401v2, **siempre** 410v21, exceptions: 401v9 **nombre**, 404v21 **rumbo** 404r24;
- “c” ~ “s” and visa versa: **desir** 401v11, **acistio** 405r30, **comunicasion** 408r23;
- “q” ~ “c” frequent but not exclusive use of in word-initial position when followed by “u”: **qual** 401v2, **quarenta** 402r6 **quatro** 403r24;
- “x” ~ “j” and visa versa en medial position: **Guadalaxara** 401r15, **Texas** 410v17, **Tejas** 412v27, **lexos** 404r6, **baxamos** 403r28, **bajar** 409r37;
- h word-initial absence: 401v3 **ay**, 402r8 **ubo**;
- “u” ~ “v” and visa versa: **uista** 409r17, **nueue** 408v10, **Vbaldo** 401r26, **diuisan** 404r23.

The types of punctuation marks and their uses include:

- semicolons to mark the end of some sentences;
- commas to indicate pauses within a sentence, separate a list of items, and at the end of sentences;

Other formal characteristics of the manuscript include:

- absence of accent marks;
- dashes to indicate the end of a sentence, and as line fillers;
- capital letters name Indian nations, directions, day of the week, day of the month, beginning of some sentences, names and titles of individuals, words from the Indian languages, and some animals;
- in the right margin the scribe indicates distances traveled each day. Just as in the transcription of Terán's diary, the right margin content will be omitted to enhance readability of the transcription.

### **Norms of Transcription**

The primary purpose of this edition and study is to produce a text that is useful for a wide audience, including historians, linguists, philologists, archeologists, sociologists, anthropologists and other scholars interested in the study of Spanish documents of the American Southwest. The transcriptions provided here have two aims: 1) to represent the original documents in content and form, faithfully maintaining the prominent features of the language of the period, and 2) to accomplish a level of usefulness across disciplines.

The critical apparatus used for both transcriptions relies on criteria adopted from the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Mackenzie 1997). The following modifications apply:

- capitalization and punctuation have been modernized;
- angular brackets “<>” are used to restore scribal abbreviations;

- editorial deletions are noted in parentheses “()”;
- editorial brackets indicate restorations “[ ]”;
- a caret “^” inside the parenthesis indicates a scribal deletion;
- a caret “^” inside the bracket indicates a scribal restoration;
- upper case *R* in initial position is transcribed as *rr*- except in instances of place names or proper names. All other orthographic representations for *r* word initial remain unaltered **rreynos** TR 454r6, **rrios** 412r14
- *j* ~ *g*: **jentte** TR 456r6
- names of nations or tribes are capitalized, with the spellings retained:  
**Choma, Sibola, Caynaaya** M407v6, **Mescales, Momones** TR 455v6
- *ç*, employed infrequently in the text, is left in its original form. **Catqueça** M 408r9, **Discrepçion** TR 454r1
- “u” and “v” variations have been left intact to illustrate the vacillation that existed during this period

The transcription further modifies the Madison model by adopting the following principles adopted by De Marco (1999: 382-485):

*1. Orthography.* Retention of the original spellings, thus reflecting internal variation or discrepancies regarding consistency of orthography within the documents.

Examples of these orthographic vacillations include:

- *v* ~ *b*: **Nueba** TR 454r7, **M 4004**{title page}, **bino** TR M407r11
- *y* ~ *i*: **yntitule** TR 457r18, **inquisición** TR 461r21

- g ~ j ~ x: **Guadalaxara** M 401r15, **dixo** M 407v30, **caxa** TR 455v25  
**influxo** TR 456r11
- z ~ s ~ ç: **Discrepçion** TR 454r1, **nazion** TR 455v5, **hase** M 407r24
- doubling of consonants: **parttes** TR 456v6, **quartta** TR 460v21, **nortte** TR 454v2,
- absence of initial h: **ubo** M 403r22, **ay** M 402r8, and on the other hand, its etymologically unjustifiable presence: **horden** TR 454r4, **Theran** TR 454r8
- no accents have been added to the text, even when modern Spanish mandates their usage to determine verb tense: **yntitule** TR 454v12, **traian** M 406v12
- capitalization of proper names of persons and places have been utilized, but other variants of those names are retained: **Tejas** M 412v28, **Techas** M 400 {title page}, **Texas** TR 454r23, M 410v17
- no modern diacritic marks are inserted into the text; hence, no accents mark stressed syllables: **segun** TR 454r25, **manteniendonos** M 455r27, **dia** M 401r1, **asi** M 401r20, **despues** M 402r7; the tilde is used with consistency, as the original dictates;



- no dieresis has been added to accurately reflect the scribes' habits and the orthography of the period.
- elided forms have been retained, thus: del (de el), dellos (dellos)
- variations in orthography have been retained, especially when the orthography implies true distinctions in pronunciation or morphology.

2. *Punctuation.* The instructions for this expedition ordered a daily account to be kept, including descriptions of the landscape, its flora and fauna, Indian tribes encountered, as well as rivers and streams crossed, and any appearances of the French. As such, the original style employed in the originals transmits the sense of regular movement under which the authors kept their dairies. The standards introduced in the contents of these documents also provided the norm for much of the formulaic language and content that the scribes of future explorations would imitate in accounts of expeditions that followed the Terán-Massanet expedition. As previously noted, the scribe uses haphazard punctuation, employing dashes and semicolons, and occasionally periods, but rarely periods or commas. Since the eye of the modern reader looks for pauses in the syntax, commas have been introduced, and occasional semi-colons or periods to improve the readability of the text.

The editor further formatted the text to assist the reader. The transcription retains original line breaks throughout the text, except in the closing signatures. Insertion of a paragraph symbol (§) marks beginnings of each dated entry as well as other entry lines containing pertinent information. The addition of line numbers facilitates reading of the text and aids cross-referencing in the commentary section.

3. *Diction and Style.* The context of the vocabulary is affected by each man's political and occupational position and viewpoint. Terán de los Ríos' vocabulary is characterized by Spanish military terms, and remains untranslated: **real** TR454v4, used as a noun, refers to the military encampment; **rancheria** TR458r25, 403v14. Various glossaries provide assistance with these items of vocabulary: (DA: 1990; DRAE; Hadley et al 1997: 527-534; Kessell et al 1998: 1179-1180; Perissinotto 1998: 377-405). Massanet's vocabulary reflects the religious focus of the journey: **indios gentiles** M401r8.

# Transcription of the Diary of Domingo Terán de los Ríos, May 16 – August 2, 1691

AGNMex, Provincias Internas, vol. 182

[folio 453r]

{title page} Diario | del | año | 1691 y 1692

[folio 453v]

[folio 454r]

- 1 Discrepçion d*a*ria,  
 demarcazion en la tierra, tantteo y rreconozi-  
 mientto y descubrimientto en bocanas del mar en demanda  
 de puertto y derrotta qe de horden y mandamiento
- 5 presectiuo d<e>l ex<celentisi>mo señor Conde de Galue, virrey,  
 lugartheniente gou<ernad>or y cap<ita>n gen<era>l de estos rreynos y  
 prou<inci>as  
 de esta Nueva España, en fuerza de triplicadas rr<eal>es  
 zedulas, executta el gener<a>l d<o>n Domingo de Theran [sic]  
 de los Ryos, gou<ernad>or de las harmas del rreyno y prouincia
- 10 de los Texas, a cuyo cargo esta el gouierno de mar y  
 tierra dellas y las demas q<ue> corren de nortte a sur, lugar-  
 theniente gen<era>l de s<u> e<xcelenci>a de los referidos rreynos y prouincias  
 de esta Nueva España por el rrey N<uest>ro Ss<eñ>or en horden  
 a diferentes prouidencias que como tan soberano principe tan
- 15 lleno como de su maduro acuerdo discurrio su gran zelo y

esplíca*z*on, y todas del seruizio de ambas magestades sobre  
diferentes punttos, cassos y cossas qe se omiten por el, yn-  
ter, que las executta su datta el dia 16 de mayo  
de 1691 años.

- 20 ¶ Miercoles 16 del rreferido mes y año: Se dio principio a la marcha  
passando muestra general a vsansa militar y prebenzionales  
que corresponden a la jornada del rreal prezidio de Cohahuila  
en demanda del rreyno de los Texas y demas prouincias qe  
corren al nortte, con nuestro rreal estandarte y campo, (p)  
25 padres del Sanctto Evangelio, segun se hereccion, tropas  
uiueres, petrechos, caualleria de mi cargo y jentte de

[folio 454v]

- 1 que se componen numero y copia en este campo del rreferido  
presidio, corriendo el rumbo al nortte vna legua  
donde hizo alto nuestro rreal estandarte.

- ¶ El dia 17: Continuando la marcha con el referido rreal  
5 al nordeste quartto al nortte el rryo abajo, al qual  
corrimos siete leguas de tierra llana, formamos nuestro  
rreal sobre dicho rryo en partte compettente a que pusse  
por nombre Nuestra Sseñora de Guadalupe.

- ¶ El dia 18: Corrimos nuestra marcha y rumbo a la banda del  
10 sur del rryo abajo de Nadadores entre dos cerros que en

las antedentes jornadas nombraron Baluartes, y en la  
 presente yntitule los dos farallones. Hisimos altto esta noche  
 sobre el rreferido rryo en partte conpetente y diputtada  
 dominando el terreno, y en el hallamos un alamo grande  
 15 que domina los demas, auiendo granjeado siete leg<sup>ua</sup>s  
 al rreferido rreyno, la tierra llana y de buenos pastos,  
 y a este sittio yntitule Nuestra S<sup>eñor</sup>a de Guia.

¶ El dia 19: Marchamos corriendo el rumbo al este quartta al  
 nordeste el rryo abajo hasta la Juntta de los Ryos  
 20 yntitulados Cohahuila, Nadadores y Sabinas, y a estos yntitule  
 los de S<sup>a</sup>n Fran<sup>cis</sup>co y Sabinos por mantenerse en ellos y su  
 rriuera en bastante porcion, tarayes y vn passo que descubrimos  
 proporcionado arriua del antedente, auiendo corrido  
 seis leg<sup>ua</sup>s, y formado n<sup>uest</sup>ro rr<sup>ea</sup>l nos mantubimos en el en  
 25 espera de las tropas y jente que salio de la caldera hasta  
 el dia 24.

¶ El dia 24 del rreferido mes y año: continuando n<sup>uest</sup>ra marcha  
 rryo abajo p<sup>o</sup>r entre vna loma, hauiendo passado el  
 rryo corriendo el rumbo al este, andubimos siete leguas  
 30 en campañas dejando colinas y farallones de ttoda la

[folio 455r]

1 Nueva España, llegamos a fformar n<sup>uest</sup>ro campo en

- el paraje nombrado en las antedentes jornadas el rr<ea>l  
del pescado, y en la presentte de mi cargo yntitule p<o>r ser  
su dia la Asencion del Ss<eñ>or, y el referido dia
- 5 y siguiente despache soldado a las 20 a S<u> E<xcelenci>a, dan-  
dole quentta formal por menor como quedabamos  
congregados y en vnion los referidos padres del Sancto  
Evangelio, caualleria de mi cargo, tropas, viueres per-  
trechos, copia y numero de que se compone.
- 10 ¶ El dia 26: Corriendo el rumbo al nordeste quartta al  
nortte fformamos n<uest>ro rr<ea>l entre dos charcos de agua  
llouediza, auiendo marchado cinco leguas en tierra  
llana, y en ella se mantienen matorrales de espinos  
q<ue> bulgarmentte disen vña de gatto, y a los rreferidos
- 15 charcos y estalaje yntitule S<a>n Ementerio y S<a>n Zelendo.  
¶ El dia 27: Manteniendo n<uest>ra marcha el rumbo al  
nordeste a horilla de un arroyo que en las antesede-  
nttes hallaron los yndios del fransses Joan, huiendo  
marchado quattro leg<ua>s, y en el formamos n<uest>ro rr<ea>l
- 20 estandartte segun leyes militares y pusse por  
nombre en la presente S<a>n Fran<cis>co de Borja.  
¶ El dia 28: Conttinuando n<uest>ra marcha al nortte la  
derrotta al Ryo Grande q<ue> en las antedentes

le nombraron de tal y en la presentte yntitule

- 25 Ryo del Nortte por ser lejitimamente el rreferido  
 rryo, sobre el qual y su riuera hizo alto n<uest>ro rr<ea>l  
 estandartte, manteniendonos quattro dias a caussa de  
 auernos susedido la noche de nuestra llegada en la  
 cauallada una disparada de sesenta, añado mas

[folio 455v]

- 1 nuebe mulas y en su alcanse ocho soldados,  
 y auiendo reconosido estar diuerttidos en tropas  
 en distanzia de 15 y 20 leguas en termino dellas  
 no pudieron ser hallados mas de dies y ocho, y esta  
 5 campaña la habittan los yndios de la nazon Odo-  
 esmades, los Mescales, Momones y otras que se tripulan,  
 y la circunstancia de auerse hallado muchos en las  
 antesedentes jornadas y en la pressentte no hallar  
 ninguno, y esta campaña la mantiene muche-  
 10 dumbre de tropas de cibolos rreduzida a ba-  
 querias formales como se be nottorio en las que reci-  
 den en el Ryo de la Platta, y su rriuera demarca  
 en el terreno vnas barranqueras y morros que dom-  
 inan la campaña, el terreno mas firme que los  
 15 anttesedentes, bistenla muchos arboles medianos de

- taray, y en los ynferiores y sercania al rryo en bastante  
 porzion mesquites, espinos medianos de taray y en  
 los ynferiores que bulgarmente dezimos vña de gatto,  
 y al referido rryo yntitule Sanctta Elvira
- 20 y el Nortte p<o>r ser su titulo, haviendo corrido n<uest>ra  
 marcha este dia seis leguas al alcanse de su riuera,  
 y passando a la ottra con perdida de las quarenta y  
 nueve caualgaduras, auiendo conseguido el passo con  
 todo el tren que le corresponde a mi jornada
- 25 se haogaron tres resses en el su caxa sobre ser  
 rapidissimo en la menor angostura de horilla a orilla,  
 sera su alcansse a tiro de mosquette, añado mas
- [folio 456r]
- 1 tres cruces q<ue> deje formadas y arboladas en toda  
 solenidad y regosigo [sic] en el plantton en que se mantubo  
 n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandardte y campo p<o>r que se mantenga n<uest>ra  
 Sanctta Fee y los yndios que se consideran apostatando
- 5 sigan la conberzion y reduzion al gremio de la  
 yglessia, y en el referido rio esfuerze la jentte pa-  
 ssando las 1700 cauessas de ganado menor sobre los  
 brassos y cauallos en opozizion de su corriente, acre-  
 zentandose abolapie en que corria la jentte de mi cargo,



- 10 copia y num<er>o peligro de la vida, y el soberano ynflu-  
xo de la de Guadalupe n<uest>ro nortte y guia en  
n<uest>ra enpressa alentto, n<uest>ra pequeñez al buen  
susseso de esta operacion, y esta noche corrimos vna  
burrasca de tiempo tempestuosso de truenos, rayos,  
15 bientto y agua y toda la abuja bariable, que des-  
arboló todas las tiendas de campaña y no uimos  
com(??)icto y el rreferido desgarron duro desde la vna  
de la noche hasta las quattro de la mañana auiendo  
arrassado la may<or> partte de la arboleda de quajo  
20 y la tienda y petacas del gen<era>l conbattidas de vn  
arroyo q<ue> las cubria.
- ¶ Sauado 3 de junio del referido mes y año: Siguiendo  
n<uest>ra marcha y rumbo al nortte, quartta al nordeste  
auiendo corrido quattro leg<ua>s hizo altto n<uest>ro rr<ea>l en  
25 el paraje nombrado en las antesedentes el charco  
del cuerbo, y en mi derrota yntitule el de S<a>n Alejo.

¶ El dia 4 del rreferido mes: Continuyendo n<uest>ra marcha

[folio 456v]

- 1 al nordeste quartta al nortte en tierra llana,  
auiendo marchado cinco leguas, hizo alto el rreferido  
rr<ea>l en el arroyo nombrado en las antesedentes de Ramos

y en la presentte yntitule San Cayettano.

- 5 ¶ El día 5: En marcha el rumbo al nordeste quartta  
al nortte, tierra llana y en parttes algunos mesquites,  
auiendo marchado quattro leguas y echo alto en el  
terreno mas superior en la riuera del arroyo, en  
las antessedentes nombraron Caramanchel y en la actual  
10 yntitule S<a>n Fran<cis>co Solano.
- ¶ El día 6: Auiendo corrido n<uest>ra marcha al nordeste quartta  
al nortte en terreno en partte llano y en partte  
doblado, y passado dos cañadas y arboles, entramos  
en vn mesquitil hasta que dimos con la riuera  
15 del rryo que en las antessedentes pusieron p<o>r nombre  
las Nuesses, y en la q<ue> corro yntitule el Ryo de San  
Diego, auiendo marchado 4 leg<ua>s.
- ¶ El día 7: En n<uest>ra marcha corriendo al este como 2  
leguas de montte y arboles crezidos de nogal, y  
20 desmontando el passo para las tropas, auiendo salido  
del uno a vno, y continuando al nortte ottras 2 leg<ua>s  
guinando al este, aunque la tierra llana con  
abundancia de mesquite y vña de gatto con conocido  
trauajo p<o>r auernos ynpedido el passo los referidos  
25 montes, hizo alto n<uest>ro rr<ea>l, auiendo corrido este día

seis leguas con perdida de 6 cauessas de ganado

bacuno y maltratadas las cargas, y el referido dia

durmio el ganado menor sin poder alcanssar en

[folio 457r]

1 el montte y fue prez(o)[i]so detenernos el siguiente

dia p<o>r este titulo.

¶ El dia 9 del referido mes: En marcha al nortte p<o>r vnas

llanadas y en ellas algunas colinas, hizimos altto haui-

5 endo corrido seis leguas sobre la riuera del rryo

nombrado en las antedentes en Hondo y en la

de mi cargo el de San Pedro, el terreno como begas,

y el referido dia en la noche entro vn temporal

y desgarron de tiempo que nos origino vna disparada

10 en nuestra cauallada q<ue> nos obligo a detenzion el dia

diez, y finalmente conseguido el alcanse de toda.

¶ Dia 11 del rreferido mes: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandartte y

campo al nortte, la derrota legua y media hasta vn

arroyo sin nombre a caussa de correr diferente derrota

15 que las antedentes p<o>r considerarse breuedad y aorro de

camino desde el rreferido Rio Hondo hasta el rreyno

de los Texas, y la circunstanzia de nueba guia de las

antedentes, y a este arroyo yntitule el de S<a>n Diego y

- de alli guino n<uest>ro rumbo quartta al nordeste  
 20 auiendo marchado seis leguas hasta la riuera de  
 otro aroyo mas superior, y a este yntitule el de San  
 Simon.
- ¶ El dia 12: Continuando n<uest>ra marcha al este descubriendo  
 camino corrimos vnas campañas y terreno en semejanya  
 25 de las del Ryo de la Platta y sus baquerias, y en esta se  
 mantiene muchedumbre de ganado cibolo hasta q<ue> hizo  
 alto n<uest>ro rr<ea>l en la riuera de otro arroyo q<ue> sin pun-  
 to fixo en las antesedentes p<o>r distintto camino nombra-  
 ron el de Medina, y a este yntitule el da S<a>n Luys

[folio 457v]

- 1 Beltran, auiendo corrido este dia cinco leguas.
- ¶ El dia 13: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandarte y campo  
 al rreferido rumbo este, auiendo marchado  
 cinco leguas en terreno y uegas que lo compone  
 5 diputado y conpettente de los mas agradables  
 de esta Nueva España, con ttodo hizo altto n<uest>ro  
 rr<ea>l sobre la rriuera de vn arroyo q<ue> le comp[on]e y a-  
 dorna muchedumbre de arboles, sabinos, sauses,  
 tarayes, minbres y rroble y otros muchos, y a este yn-  
 10 titule el de San Anttonio de Padua p<o>r auer arri-

uado en su dia a el donde hallamos ciertas ran-  
 cherias en las quales se mantiene la nazon Peyaye,  
 obseruados sus mouimientos, reconozi en ellos docilidad,  
 cariño, enclinaz*<i>*on natural a nossottros y muy partidos  
 15 y la circunstanzia de ser diputtada p<ar>a formar rre-  
 dusiones, la primera en el Ryo Grande en su prezidio  
 y otro aqui, y en esta distancia se les acercaran difere-  
 ntes nasiones y el dia 14 p<o>r ser el de Corpus Christi  
 ometimos la marcha.

- 20 ¶ El dia 15: En la rreferida marcha el rumbo a camino de-  
 l este, auiendo marchado cinco leguas, el terreno como  
 el antesedente y ganado zibolo con muchos arboles de  
 rroble q<ue> componen el terreno para todo coltibo, y auiendo  
 echo alto n<uest>ro rr<ea>l esta noche sobre la riuera de ziertto  
 25 arroyo en bastantte porzion de agua, el qual yntitule  
 S<a>n Ygnasio de Loyola, y corrimos esta noche vn  
 desgarron de tiempo tempestuosso.

¶ Dia 16: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandartte y campo al rreferido

[folio 458r]

- 1 rumbo, corrio quattro leg<ua>s hasta la riuera de otro  
 arroyo no menos copiosso, al qual yntitule el de  
 Sanctto Domingo, en terreno como el antesedente

y mas arbolejos.

- 5 ¶ El dia 17: Manteniendo n<uest>ra marcha al este quartto al  
 nordeste quattro leg<ua>s hasta hazer altto en la riuera  
 de otro arroyo q<ue> yntitule el de S<a>n Pedro de  
 Alcantara, el terreno agostaderos y lo demas q<ue> le  
 corresponde en ygualdad a los antesedentes con muc-  
 10 hedumbre de ganado de zibola.

- ¶ El dia 18: Corriendo la marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandartte y campo  
 al rreferido rumbo [a]l este quattro leguas hasta q<ue> hizo  
 altto sobre la riuera de otro arroyo, y a este yntitule  
 el de Sanctta Rossa peruana, el terreno de la campaña  
 15 como los antesedentes y la circunstanzia del ganado.

- ¶ El dia 19: Manteniendo n<uest>ra marcha y campo al este, auiendo  
 corrido quattro leguas hasta hazer altto en otro arroyo  
 que yntitule el de S<a>n Agustin, el terreno como los  
 antesedentes, y a este por distintto rumbo en las antesedentes  
 20 nombraron Guadalupe, y en el y su rriuera halle las  
 nazioni Jumana, Zibula, Casqueza, Cantona y los  
 Mandones, con pattentes formales de las gouernadores avtu-  
 ales de la Biscaya y Nuevo Mex<i>co, auiendonos salido  
 a reziuir como vna legua con manifestaz<i>on de paz,  
 25 y esta noche auiendo primero reconozido toda su rancheria

con quattro compañeros y con la chusma se considero el num<er>o

de ella hasta 20 personas, y la referida noche ante

[a]viendo auer dejado sus tierras en tantta distancia

[folio 458v]

- 1 se discurrio, sera por alguna operasion como las  
que de hordinario obseruan contra nosotros, a  
auida consideraz<i>on, vssamos la prebenzional en  
la hordenanza militar por si la ocazion lo
- 5 pidiesse, cortejamoslos mucho esta tarde y el  
dia siguiente no nos paresiendo partte conpettente  
nos pussimos en marcha p<o>r el rrezelo y codisia  
en las tropas, auiendoles echo su teattole p<o>r yn-  
terpre[t]zazion y apartte al gou<ernad>or y sus capittanes en
- 10 castellano por ser bastanteamente ladinos, pidieron-  
me nuebas patentes en fuerza de las referidas,  
ofreziles de bueltta darselas, obserue los mouimientos  
en sus acciones y tanteo q<ue> conosi bastante orgullo  
esta jentte crezida y trepada y de bastante descollo.
- 15 ¶ El dia 20 del rreferido mes: A camino y derrotta al este  
quartta al nordeste en marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandartte  
y campo del rreferido rryo al de esta rriuera q<ue> se  
supone ser braso del, manteniendo la marcha quatro

leguas hizo altto n<uest>ro campo, y en la noche se ori-  
 20 gino en la caballa[da] vna disparada de cientto y  
 diez cauallos, y en su busca y alcansse veyntte y cinco  
 soldados sin que pudiessen ser hallados en cinco dias,  
 y en termino dellos se hallaron treynta y cinco  
 y sali con perdida de setentta y cinco, la rreferida  
 25 dilaz<i>on con que tubimos el dia del Señor S<a>n Joan  
 Baptista <sup>^(auida consideraz<i>on^)</sup> le ynttitule el de S<a>n  
 Joan Baptista, el terreno mas doblado q<ue> los an-  
 tesedentes a caussa de cierttas colinas q<ue> le componen,

[folio 459r]

1 y la referida riuera vestida de muchedumbre  
 de arboles, nogales, sabinos, sauses, tarayes, y ottros  
 de que se compone.  
 ¶ El dia 25: Manteniendo la marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandarte  
 5 al este, auiendo corrido quattro leg<ua>s hasta hazer alto  
 en la riuera de vn arroyo, el terreno mas llano  
 que el antesedente con muchedumbre de zibolos,  
 al qual ynttitule el de Sancto Thomas.  
 ¶ El dia 26: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandartte al este quarto  
 10 al nordeste quattro leg<ua>s de camino hiso alto en la  
 rriuera de vn arroyo en bastante porcion de agua,



- y en las antesedentes jornadas p<o>r distintto rumbo  
le nombraron el de S<a>n Marcos y el Colorado y en la  
presentte yntitule el de S<a>n P<edr>o y S<a>n Pablo Apostol,
- 15 el terreno y arboles que le adornan como el de San  
Joan Baptista, y el veyntte y siete y veyntte y ocho del  
rreferido mes detenidos en el p<o>r la fatiga del ganado  
menor.
- ¶ El dia 29: Del Señor S<a>n Pedro y S<a>n Pablo auiendole selebrado
- 20 con singular rregozijo guadyubando los p<adre>s del S<an>to Ev-  
angelio en marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandartte la conjunzion,  
passamos el rryo dos besses en distancia los dos passos  
de vna legua, y el dia 30 por la rreferida caussa del  
ganado menor suspendi la marcha.
- 25 ¶ Dia primero de jullio: Vbo m<uest>ra gen<era>l del rreferido año  
del segundo passo al terzero en marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l  
estandartte y campo y a camino al sur, auiendo mar-  
chado este dia seis leg<ua>s en terreno doblado y montuosso.

[folio 459v]

- 1 Hiso alto n<uest>ro rr<ea>l en el terzero passo en la rriuera  
del con el mesmo adorno de arboleda y nogales hasta  
el dia tres, q<ue> salio el capittan Fran<cis>co Martinez  
segun la horden del s<eñ>or virrey guardando las

- 5 ynstrusiones con veintte soldados de los de mi cargo  
y cientto y sinquentta caualllos, quarenta mulas  
aparejadas de rreatta abajo, viueres y pertrechos  
de guerra que le corresponde, añado mas los peones  
q<ue> las conducen y demas prouidencias preuenidas su-
- 10 poniendo en ellas y en este casso la voluntad su-  
perior de S<u> E<xcelenci>a, y se suspendio el progreso de la  
marcha ha[s]ta su bueltta, cuyos motiuos se omiten  
hasta ponerme a los pies de S<u> E<xcelenci>a, y la rreferida  
benida de la fuerza vieja a esta riuera, corre
- 15 desde el dia 3 en llegada estad[i]a y bueltta hasta  
el dia 19, añado mas con los dos muchachos de la  
nazion franzeza q<ue> siguiendo el modo con assierto  
suabemente a poca diligencia los trajeron los yndios  
ynmediattos a aquella marina, y d<ic>ho capittan
- 20 en el termino de los seis dias q<ue> se mantubo alla,  
rreconosio no auer arriuado nuestras galeottas a  
aquella bahia y costa, y el dia 20 y 21 auiendo  
llamado a juntta los r<eueren>dos p<adre>s del Sanctto Evangelio  
y a la juntta de guerra en horden a que d<ic>ho
- 25 capittan y el n<umer>o de caualleria con lo que le corresponde  
en el primer viaje bajasse a hazer nuebas diligen-

cias a la referida fuerza y que se mantubiesse en

[folio 460r]

- 1 ella ueyntte dias mas, y no pudiendo nuestras  
galeottas ser auidas se boluiesse a n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandarte  
estalaje y riuera, y con esta nueva diligencia el día  
siguiente, continuasemos la marcha hasta el rreyno
- 5 de los Texas, vltimamente la rreferida juntta de  
comun acuerdo, bottaron se suspendiesse el progreso  
en horden a la bajada a la fuerza y q<ue> el dia  
siguiente prosiguiesse la marcha al rreferido rreyno,  
y que llegado a el se bajasse a la fuerza con las prouidencias
- 10 rrezulttas p<ar>a la conduz<io>n de ttodo, y mi parezer se reduxo  
a que se bajasse a la fuerza p<o>r el yntter de los 20 dias  
y seis mas q<ue> se mantubo d<ic>ho capittan, y no auiendome con-  
formado con el parezer de todos p<o>r la mancomunidad  
sin embargo de quedar mi botto en su fuerza me presi-
- 15 zaron a seguir la marcha el dia 22.  
¶ El rreferido dia 22 de jullio de d<ic>ho año: En marcha n<uest>ro  
rr<ea>l estandarte y campo al nortte quartto al nordeste,  
auiendo marchado cinco leguas al rreferido rumbo  
corriendo vna bereda angosta de campaña y p<o>r vna
- 20 y otra partte monttuossa, hizimos altto en vn arroyu-

elo q<ue> no ttenia mas q<ue> vnos charquillos de agua q<ue> lo  
 mas era del zibolo, y en dos campañas q<ue> le sercauan  
 muchedumbre dellos y en todos los montes quajados de  
 garrapattas y aradores y otras sabandijas, y le pusse por  
 25 nombre S<a>n Emetterio y S<a>n Zeledon.

¶ El dia 23 del referido mes: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l  
 estandarte y campo al referido rumbo y

[folio 460v]

1 camino, auiendo tres leguas p<o>r vna montaña, hisi-  
 mos alto en vn arroyo q<ue> pusse p<o>r nombre el  
 de San Carlos.

¶ El dia 24: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandarte y campo al  
 5 rreferido rumbo seis leguas p<o>r tierra llana, hisimos  
 altto en otro arroyo, cassi se componia el agua por  
 la mayor parte de zibolo p<o>r lo mucho q<ue> se mantenía  
 en aquella compañía, y le pusse p<o>r nombre el de Sanctiago.

¶ El dia 25: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandarte y campo al  
 10 rreferido rumbo a camino al nortte quartta al nordeste,  
 auiendo marchado quatro leg<ua>s hizimos altto en la  
 rriuera q<ue> los naturales nombraron el Colorado, y a este  
 ynttitule el de S<a>n Geronimo, y en su rriuera nos mantubimos  
 dos dias, y en termino dellos formamos el puente p<ar>a

15      passar el ganado menor p<o>r venir crezido, y n<uest>ra caual-  
 lleria trauajo bastantemente y el ganado menor tan  
 trauajosso q<ue> no podimos hazer jornada, hisimos altto  
 en la ottra banda, auiendo marchado vna legua y  
 pusse p<o>r nombre S<a>n Bernardino.

20      ¶ El dia 28: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandarte y campo cam-  
 ino del nortte quartta al nordeste, auiendo marchado  
 seis leguas en tierra llana y campaña angosta q<ue> por  
 vna y ottra parte la compone diuersidad de arboles,  
 hizimos altto juntto a vn arroyuelo q<ue> ynttitule el  
 25      de S<a>n Sipriano, y me mantube en este paraje dos dias p<o>r  
 la fattiga del ganado menor.

¶ El dia 31: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandarte y campo a  
 camino del nortte quartta al nordeste, auiendo mar-

[folio 461r]

1      chado quatro leguas en parte montuosso y en  
 parte llano y el terreno doblado, auiendo passado  
 un arroyo en el termino de dos leguas, hizo altto  
 n<uest>ro campo en dos charcos q<ue> ynttitule los de S<a>n

5      Ysidro Labrador, pattron de Madrid.

¶ El dia prim<er>o de agosto: En marcha n<uest>ro rr<ea>l estandar-  
 te y campo a camino del nortte quartta al nordeste,

- auiedo marchado este dia cinco leguas en terreno  
 doblado y todo montuosso, hizimos altto sobre la  
 10 riuera del rryo que en las antesedentes jornadas, y p<o>r  
 distintto rumbo llamaron el de la Trinidad, y  
 en la pressente ynttitule el de la Encarnaz<i>on del  
 Beruo, y sobre la referida rriuera nos mantubimos  
 vn dia p<o>r la congoja y fattiga del ganado menor.
- 15 ¶ El dia 2: Como a las 9 de la mañana los rreferidos padres  
 del Sanctto Evangelio sin caussa ni motiuo alguno ni  
 ninguno y sin despedirse de mi continuaron la marcha  
 operazion tan estraña q<ue> origino a ttodo el campo basta-  
 nte desbelo y cuydado a caussa de no auer acordado
- 20 el modo de nuestra entrada, y discurriendo en  
 continua ynquizizion los motiuos q<ue> les podia originar  
 a ello se ttomo rrezoluz<i>on continuar la marcha el  
 dia siguiente.

## Transcription of the Diary of Damián Massanet, May 16 – August 2, 1691

AGNMex, Provincias Internas, vol. 182

[folio 400r]

{title page} Diario y derrotero a la provincia de los Techas | que se hizo el año de  
noventa | y uno den la jornada que | se hizo por orden del excelentísimo señor Conde  
de Galve virrey y capitan general desta Nueva España

[folio 400v]

[folio 401r]

{heading} Año de 1691

- 1 El dia diesiseis de mayo de mil seiscientos nouenta y un años  
sali de la mission de San Saluador del Valle de Santiago juri-  
dicion de Cohaguila con los padres misioneros y predicadores  
fr<ay> Fran<cis>co Hidalgo, fr<ay> Nicolas Recio, fr<ay> Miguel Estelles,  
fr<ay> Pedro Fortuny,
- 5 fr<ay> Pedro Garcia, fr<ay> Ildefonso Monge, fr<ay> Joseph Saldaña, fr<ay>  
Anto-  
nio Miranda y fr<ay> Juan de Garayicochca, tres donados y un  
muchacho que lleue de Queretaro, y todos para la enpresa y  
conquista spiritual de las almas de los gentiles indios Techas y  
demas naciones que se les agregasen, todos con patentes de n<uestro>
- 10 r<euerendisi>mo p<adre> comissario gen<era>l desta Nueva España fr<ay>  
Juan de Capistra-

no y por orden del ex<celentisi>mo s<eño>r Conde de Galve, virrey e  
capp<ita>n

gen<era>l desta Nueva España.

¶ Dicho día despues de auer todos dicho missa entregue la mission de  
San Saluador al lisenciado Juan Bautista de Zepeda, presbitero

15 el qual por orden del s<a>ntt<isi>mo s<eño>r obispo de Guadaluaxara estaua  
aguardando nuestra salida para quedarse en dicha mission  
y administrar como cura a los indios que en ella quedaron, como  
consta del recibo que me dio dicho lisenciado Juan Bautista de  
Zepeda, presbitero.

20 Asi como salimos de dicha mission de San Saluador, caminamos al  
nordeste por tierra llana con algunos montesillos de mesquites no  
grandes y sienpre a la uista del rrio de dicha mission, este  
día caminamos sinco leguas y paramos a la orilla del mismo  
rio en donde hase una lomita alta sin monte, paraje que le  
25 llaman los españoles Real del Chocolate, yo le puse por nombre  
San Vbaldo por ser su día.

¶ jueues diesisiete: Salimos del paraje de San Vbaldo y caminamos

[folio 401v]

1 al nordeste por tierra llana sin monte, a tres leguas estan unos  
esteros de agua salobre, los quales en tienpo de aguas tienen la uerti(^?)ente  
para el este, en estos esteros ay mucho pescado bagre y mucha



almeja, pasamos dichos esteros y hallamos un monte de mesquites y  
 5 luego se diuisan unas lomas altas sin monte y corren de ponie<n>te  
 al este sienpre por la orilla del Rio de Sabinos, para pasarlo  
 se ua a la punta en donde rematan dichas lomas, llegamos al  
 paso de dicho rrio y paramos, caminamos este dia sinco leguas y  
 puse por nombre a este paraje y Rio San Pasqual Railon por  
 10 ser su dia, y en lengua de los indios se llama ^{(Guansan^)} que  
 quiere desir rrio chico.

¶ viernes diesiocho: No caminamos por pasar los ganados y requas  
 que aunque el paso del rrio es de piedra para mulas cargadas se  
 pasa con algun trabajo, y este paso es el mejor que tiene este  
 15 rio, tiene en el paso muchos sabinos, fresnos y alamos, los gana-  
 dos pasaron por su pie muy bien a Dios gracias.

¶ sabado diesinueue: Salimos de San Pasqual Railon y Rio de Sa-  
 binos, caminamos al norte por tierra llana de monte chico de  
 mesquites y nopales, a legua y media esta una salina grande,  
 20 la qual llegando a faltarle el agua cria sal muy buena  
 en algunas partes, se pasa junto a ella por la parte de arri-  
 ba, proseguimos el mismo runbo por tierra muy llana, y al  
 pie de unas lomas tendidas esta un estero de agua muy gra<n>de,  
 y en tienpo de seca suele faltar el agua, caminamos este  
 25 dia seis leguas, a este paraje puse por nombre San Felis

por estar en el en su dia, en lengua de los indios se llama

^(Chacalep^) y los españoles le llaman charco del pescado.

¶ domingo beinte: No caminamos por aguardar el gou<ernad>or d<on> Domingo Teran que bajo de Cohaguila con algunos soldados.

30 ¶ lunes beinteuno: Llego a dicho paraje el gou<ernad>or d<on> Domingo Tera<n>

con los soldados y desde que llegamos al Rio de Sabinos

[folio 402r]

1 el cap<ita>n d<o>n Fran<cis>co Martinez despacho dos soldados rio arriba, los cuales fueron a encontrarse con dicho gou<ernad>or y guiarle al paraje en donde le augardauamos, el juntarnos en

este paraje fue por la conueniencia de los ganados y requas porque  
5 todo salio del Nueuo Reino de Leon y de ir a Cohaguila auian de rodear mas de quarenta leguas de mal camino, y los ganados se auian de auer impossibilitado y despues perdido, el dia que nos juntamos, aquella noche ubo mucho clarin y tanbor, y disiendo que la cauallada se auia de espantar y de noche huirse, dixo el gou<ernad>or d<on>

10 Domingo Teran que no (que) tocasen, aquella noche ubo estanpida de cauallos, y otro dia por la mañana faltaron cientoicinquenta, los cuales se cobraron afuerça de matar los que auian quedado(^s), corriendo los soldados en ellos para recojer dichos caualllos que se auia<n> espantado y huido.

15 ¶ martes beinteidos: No caminamos porque dixo el gou<ernad>or d<on>

Domingo

Teran que tenia que escriuir y despachar correo a su ex<celenci>a.

¶ sabado beinteiseis: Salimos de San Felis, caminamos al nordeste por tierra llana, despues de auer andado como tres leguas esta un baxio de salitre que corre para el sur, y despues unas lomititas  
20 tendidas, este dia caminamos sinco leguas y paramos en unos esteros de agua, a quien puse por nombre San Phelippe Neri por ser su dia, en los otros jornadas le llamaron el agua uerde, en lengua de los indios se llama ^*(Asanquan^)*, que quiere desir corason.

25 ¶ domingo beinteisiete: Salimos de San Phelippe Neri y caminamos al nordeste siguiendo unas lomititas y paramos en un arroyo de (de) agua salobre, este dia caminamos sinco leguas, estos dias enduuieron con nosotros los indios de naciones Mescales, Yoricas, Cho-  
me, Parchacas, Machome, Pamau, todas estas naciones uiuen  
30 desde el Rio Grande o Rio del Norte asta el Rio de Sabinos, no estan de aciento en parte alguna, sienpre andan buscando la sibola y las comidas que les da la tierra, no sienbran, y menos se amañan a cosa que sea trabajar, a este paraje puse por nombre San Juanijo, los indios en su lengua le llaman ^*(Guagual^)*.

[folio 402v]

- 1 ¶ lunes beinteiocho: Salimos de San Juanijo y caminamos al nordes-  
te por tierra llana algo doblada pero muy andable, despues de  
auer andado como tres leguas en unas lomititas altas se diuise el  
rrio no el agua, si los paredones que tiene en las orillas y para  
5 ir al paso se camina al norte por tierra llana con monte de  
mesquites, antes de llegar al rio serca de una legua esta un  
arroyo de agua que corre para el rio, el paso del rio esta  
en donde ay unos minbres altos, este dia caminamos sinco le-  
guas y paramos a la orilla del Rio del Norte, a quien otros  
10 llaman Rio Grande, otros Rio Turbio porque el ague sienpre lo  
esta, a este paraje puse por nombre San Fernando por auer  
estado en el y dicho missa en su dia, en lengua de los indios se  
llama ^(*Pulapacxam*^) que quiere desir en donde se criian gallinas,  
tanbien le llaman los indios ^(*Guanapetnan*^) que quiere desir agua  
15 grande.
- ¶ martes beinteinueue: Salieron los soldados a buscar los caualllos  
que faltauan porque la noche antecedente dio la cauallada es-  
tanpida y faltaron quarenta caualllos.
- ¶ miercoles treinta: Salio una escuadra de soldados a buscar  
20 la cauallada que faltaua, y no la hallaron y quedaron perdidos  
los dichos quarenta cauados, otra escuadra fueron a matar  
sibola que la auia en abundancia.

¶ jueues treintaiuno: Pasaron el rio, las requas y el ganado mayor, todo paso muy bien a Dios las gracias.

- 25 ¶ viernes primero de junio: Todos los soldados y harrieros enpesaron a pasar el ganado de ouejas y cabras y todo lo pasaron a cauallo, porque el paso del rio tiene de ancho un tiro de mosquete, con mucha corriente el agua, no puede pasar el ganado por su pie, ni ay maderas para haser balsas, dicho dia pasaron
- 30 la mayor parte del ganado, aquella noche como a las onse se leua<n>-to un uracan tan espantoso, y con tanta uiolencia que los mesquites grandes que ay en aquel paraje los troncho, las tiendas las amanco y lleuo como si fueran una paja, duro como tres horas y en todo este tienpo llouio y caia el agua que parecia la uertian a cantaros, todo este contratienpo aguantamos sin mas abrigo que el
- [folio 403r]

- 1 resar muchas ueses la letania a la virgen santissima y la rogatiua a los santos que tenia señalados para patrones de nuestro uiaje y buen suceso, a quienes todas las mañanas todos los rreli- giosos, antes de salir del paraje puestos de rodillas resauamos
- 5 dicha rogatiua y letania a la virgen santissima a la santissima cruz, San Miguel, San Joseph, n<uestro> p<adre> San Fran<cic>co, San Antonio
- de Padua, Santa Rosa de Viterbo y las Animas del Purgato-

rio.

¶ sabado dos: A mediodia acabaron de pasar el ganado menor  
 10 con mucha felicidad, a las cinco de la tarde ya el rio benia  
 muy crecido que no se podia pasar.

¶ domingo tres: Dia del Spiritu Santo, despues de missa salimos  
 de San Fernando y Rio del Norte porque el paraje estaba  
 muy falto de pasto para los ganados y cauallada, camina-  
 15 mos al norte por tierra doblada de arroyos, lomas y mon-  
 te de mesquite, y esta tierra desta manera sera como tres  
 leguas, despues es ya tierra llana y buena, paramos en unos  
 esteros que ay en un monte de arboles altos que se llaman  
 palo blanco, y en las jornadas pasadas le llamaron charco  
 20 de los cueruos, yo le puse por nombre San Bernardo y  
 en lengua de los indios se llama ^{Guanpaclec^} que quiere  
 desir agua de lodo, todos los dias pasados ubo mucha sibola  
 y oy mas.

¶ lunes quatro: Despues de missa salimos de San Bernardo y caminamos  
 25 al nordeste por tierra llana de poco monte, y despues de auer caminado  
 como una legua se diuisa la arboleda de un arroyo que corre de  
 nordeste al sur, dicho arroyo por la parte del sur no tiene agua,  
 seguimos el mismo runbo y baxamos del nordeste quarta al  
 este por unas lomitas tendidas de monte de mesquites, llegamos

30 a la orilla de dicho arroyo en donde tiene mucha agua, y a un  
 tiro de arcabus estan quatro ensinos grandes, juntos y copudos  
 en donde paramos, a este paraje llamaron en las jornadas pasa-  
 [folio 403v]

1 (pasa)das arroyo del Pullon porque la primera ues un soldado  
 saco un bagre de pullon, que asi les llaman, yo le puse por  
 nombre San Matias, en lengua de los indios se llama ^{(Samenpa-  
 jo^)}, este dia caminamos [5 leguas].

5 ¶ martes sinco: Despues de missa salimos de San Matias, caminamos  
 al nordeste por tierra llana y en algunas partes monte de mesqui-  
 tes no muy espeso, caminamos quatro leguas y llegamos a un arroyo  
 de mucha agua y suele faltar en tiempo de seca, a este arro-  
 yo le llamaron en la otra jornada el arroyo de Caramanchel,  
 10 yo le puse por nombre San Lucas, en en lengua de los indios se  
 llama ^{(Guanapacti^)}, que quiere desir arroyo de dos aguas,  
 en este paraje y en el pasado salieron muchos indios de las  
 naciones Quems, Pacpules, Ocanas, Chaguan, Pastulac,  
 Paac, la rancheria estaba a la orilla de dicho arroyo

15 desuiada del paraje como tres leguas, este dia caminamos [4 leguas].  
 ¶ miercoles seis: Salimos de San Lucas, y caminamos al nordes-  
 te por tierra llana sin monte despues de auer andado como dos  
 leguas esta un arroyo sin agua de mucha arboleda y corre

al sur, en tienpo de aguas tiene agua en los charcos, antes de  
 20 llegar a el ay un monte de mesquites, pasado dicho arroyo es  
 tierra llana sin monte asta llegar al monte grande que esta  
 antes del rrio, es el monte de mesquites grandes y muy tupidos,  
 llegando a dicho monte se camina al este, asta diuisar por el  
 nordeste un serrito alto cubierto de monte, y se camina para  
 25 el, y luego se sale del monte y se entra al campo que esta  
 sin monte y dentro del mismo caxon del rrio, en donde es el pa-  
 raje, y no ay otro, a este rrio le llamaron Rio de las Nueses por  
 los muchos nogales que tiene, yo le puse por nombre San  
 Norberto por ser su dia, en lengua de los indios se llama  
 30 ^<sup>(Chottilapacqueen^)</sup>, caminamos este dia como seis leguas y  
 paramos a la orilla de dicho rio, ubo mucha sibola y en el  
 rrio mucho pescado, bagre, y robalo.  
 ¶ jueves siete: Salimos de San Norberto y por otro nombre Rio de  
 las Nueses, pasado el rrio por la parte del norte, luego se  
 35 entra por una cañada de nogales muy grandes y se camina al  
 [folio 404r]  
 1 norte quarta nordeste, al subir dicha cañada al mucho monte  
 de mesquites grandes y encinos, luego se camina al nordeste  
 quarta al este, llegando a deuisar una loma alta de monte  
 por la parte del norte, se camina al este quarta sudueste



- 5        asta llegar a una lomita que se descubre por la parte del sur  
       que por no tener monte de lexos parece blanca, llegando a ella  
       queda a la parte del sur y se camina al este por lomas tendidas  
       de mucho monte de mesquites, despues de auer andado como una  
       legua, se ua al nordeste quarta al este hasta hallar un arroyo
- 10       sin agua de mucho monte y a una legua esta el rrio que tie-  
       ne un nogal muy grande en el paso, este dia caminamos  
       seis leguas y paramos pasado el Rio Frio, a quien puse por no<m>-  
       bre San Feliciano por salir de el en este dia, en lengua de los  
       indios se llama ^(*Guanapacauas*^), que quiere desir agua fria.
- 15       ¶ viernes ocho: No se camino porque el dia antes los ganados no  
       pudieron llegar al paraje por el mucho monte, ubo estos dias  
       mucha abundancia de sibola y pescado que el rio lo tiene  
       en abundancia, que les llaman bagres de pullon.
- ¶ sabado nueue: Salimos de San Feliciano y Rio Frio, caminamos
- 20       al nordeste quarte al este como dos leguas y media por lomi-  
       tas tendidas de monte de mesquites no muy grandes, luego se  
       entra a la tierra llana sin monte, por la parte del nordeste  
       se diuisan unos arboles altos que son ensinos, por el este un  
       serrito alto y algo lexos y siguiendo el rumbo al nordeste
- 25       a los dichos ensinos altos se llega al Rio Jondo, este dia  
       caminamos sinco leguas y paramos a la orilla de dicho rrio,

a quien puse por nombre San Bartholome, y en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^</sup>(Guanapajao<sup>^</sup>), caminamos este dia [6 leguas].

¶ domingo dies: Dia de la santissima Trinidad, no se camino porque

30 la noche antecedente dio la cauallada estanpida y se lleuo las uacas, hieguas y cabras, otro dia a Dios las gracias se halló todo, a este paraje salieron los indios de naciones Sanpanal, Patchal, Papanaca, Parchiquis, Paquachiam, Aguapalam, [folio 404v]

1 Samampac, Vanca, Payauan, Patauó, a todos ellos reparti tabaco, rosarios, cuchillos y abalorios, despues a la tarde llegaron otros de naciones Putray, Apayu, Patsau.

¶ lunes onse: Salimos de San Bartholome y Rio Jondo <sup>^</sup>(desde

5 oy y deste paraje caminamos asta los Techas por tierra y diferente runbo del que lleuamos en las dos jornadas pasadas<sup>^</sup>). Pasado el rrio caminamos al norte quarta nordeste por tierra llana sin monte, llegando a un monte de mesquites se diuisan unos sabinos, y se ua para ellos que estan a la orilla de un arroyo de agua que corre muy buena y en donde ay 10 mucho pescado, para pasarlo se ua al este, pasado dicho arroyo se camina al nordeste por tierra llana de mucho monte de mesquites y ensinos, dexando unas lomas por la parte del este, despues de auer caminado como una legua se diuisa

15 una lomita alta redonda negra, la cual por la parte del  
 norte tiene un monte de ensinos altos, al pasarla queda a la  
 parte del norte, pasado dicha loma alta como media legua  
 y subido otras lomas tendidas de monte de mesquites y ensi-  
 nos, se diuisa por el nordeste la tierra llana sin monte, solo  
 20 ay algunos ensinos altos y muy apartados unos de otros, entrando  
 a este llano se prosigue el rumbo al nordeste llegando a  
 otro monte de mesquites se entra por una cañada, y luego se diuisa  
 la arboleda del arroyo que es grande de alamos, ensinos altos,  
 morales y todos entretejidos de parras, tiene este arroyo mucho  
 25 pescado y ubo este dia mucha sibola, paramos en dicho arro-  
 yo y caminamos este dia seis leguas, a este paraje puse por  
 nombre San Bernabe por ser su dia, en lengua de los indios se  
 llama ^ (Potapara^ ) que quiere desir pozo.  
 ¶ martes dose: Salimos del arroyo de San Bernabe y caminamos  
 30 al nordeste por monte de ensinos y mesquites, la tierra muy  
 andable, como a un quarto de legua se sale del monte en  
 frente de una lomita alta, luego se entra por tierra llana  
 sin monte, echa toda ella un prado ermoso con mucha sibola

[folio 405r]

1 y benados, desde este llano se diuisa una lomita alta y  
 redonda por la parte del nordeste, y se camina al este,

llegando en derechura de dicha lomita, se diuisa otra por  
la parte del este, pasado yo esta loma que tiene monte de  
5 mesquites altos, a media legua esta el arroyo, y se pasa  
por abajo de donde se juntan el arroyo de agua que  
corre y otro arroyo sin agua, este día caminamos cinco  
leguas y paramos pasado el arroyo, a quien puse por nom-  
bre San Basilio, y en lengua de los indios se llama  
10 ^ (Penapay^).

¶ miercoles trese: Salimos de San Basilio despues de auer  
dicho missa y caminamos al nordeste quarta al este asta salir de unas  
lomitas tendidas de monte, ensinos, y mesquites, la tierra muy andable,  
entrando a la tierra llana se camina al este y antes de llegar al rio  
15 ay otras lomitas de ensinos grandes, el rio tiene mucha arboleda  
de alamos, sauinos, ensinos, morales, y muchas parras, ay mucho  
pescado y en aquellos llanos muchas gallinas de la tierra,  
este dia ubo tanta sibola que atropello la cauallada, y se lleuo  
quarenta cauалlos, los quales con arto trabajo de los soldados los  
20 juntaron otra ues con la demas cauallada, en este paraje halla-  
mos la rancheria de los indios de nacion Payay, es nacion muy  
grande, y la tierra en donde uiuen y habitan es muy buena,  
a este paraje puse por nombre San Antonio de Padua por ser su  
dia, y en lengua de los indios se llama ^ (Yanaguana^), caminamos

25 este dia sinco leguas.

¶ jueues catorse y dia de Corpus: No se camino por estar aquellos indios presentes mande poner una cruz alta, y delante de la misma cruz se hizo una enrramado de alamos, en la qual se puso el altar, dixeron missa los rreliгиозos todos, y a la missa mayor acistio el gou<ernad>or don> Domingo Teran de los Rios, el cap<ita>n don> Fran<cis>co Mar-  
tinez, y los mas de los soldados, los quales dispararon muchos tiros, y al alsar la ostia hisieron salue con toda la arcabuse-  
ria, a todo lo qual se hallaron presentes todos aquellos indios,

[folio 405v]

1 despues de la missa di a entender a dichos indios, por al cap<ita>n de los indios de nacion Pacpul, como aquella missa y los arcabusasos que los españoles auian disparado era[n] todo en obsequio, ferstejo y alabansa que dauamos a Dios N<uestro> S<eño>r en agradecimiento del beneficio y mayor

5 finesa que su diuina mag<esta>d pudo obrar con nosotros, que fue el dexarse sacramentado debaxo de los accidentes de pan y vino, que eran los que auian uisto alsar en la missa.

¶ Despues les reparti rosarios, nauacuelas, abalorio, (^y) cuchillos y tabaco, al cap<ita>n le di un cauallo, tenian en medio de la rancheria  
10 ^ (que es desir en medio del pueblo^) una cruz alta de madera que di-

xeron [que] sabian que los christianos en sus casas y pueblos ponian cru-  
ses, y que las respetauan mucho, por ser cosa en que se agrada-  
ua mucho al que era Dios y Señor de todo, otro dia quando salimos  
dicho cap<ita>n Payay en accion de agradecimiento dixo que el queria  
15 aconpañarnos y guiar asta la rancheria de los indios Chomanes  
y juntamente mando a quatro indios de su gente [que] fuesen ayuda<n>do  
a los españoles en arrear los ganados y demas que se les ofreciese.

¶ viernes quince: Salimos de San Antonio de Padua y caminamos  
al este quarta nordeste por tierra llana sin monte, en el camino  
20 muchas lomas tendidas de ensinos, todo el dia caminamos al mis-  
mo runbo y fueron sinco leguas, paramos en un arroyo de  
agua que en partes no corre, ubo mucha sibola y en los esteros  
caymanes [y] pescado en abundancia, a este puesto puse por nom-  
bre Santa Cressencia por ser su dia, en lengua de los indios se  
25 llama ^*(Smatiniguiapacomisem)* que quiere desir rio en donde ay  
colores para pintar las adargas.

¶ sabado diesiseis: Salimos de Santa Cressencia y caminamos al nor-  
deste quarta al este por tierra llana sin monte, por la parte  
del norte ay unas lomas tendidas de poco monte y se diuisa una  
30 loma alta de monte que son ensinos altos, y se camina para ella  
que da por la parte del norte, junto a esta loma ay mucho  
monte de mesquites, y luego se baxa a un arroyo de agua que

no corre, tiene arboleda muy alta de morales, nogales, parras,  
ensinos y palo blanco, subiendo a la loma por el mismo runbo

[folio 406r]

- 1 del nordeste quarta al este se diuisan unas lomas altas que  
corren de norte al este y siguiendo el mismo runbo se llega  
a un baxio de monte de mesquites, y luego a un arroyo de agua  
que corre, el agua de dicho arroyo es caliente y salobre,
- 5 dentro del arroyo, y de la misma agua esta una peña que por una  
abertura que tiene arroja ermosa agua fria, este dia camina-  
mos quatro leguas y puse por nombre a este paraje San Felis  
por ser su dia y por auer sido dia feliz de mucha sibola, ga-  
llinas de la tierra, pescado y agua fria, en lengua de los indios
- 10 se llama <sup>^</sup>(Populacsap<sup>^</sup>).  
¶ domingo diesisiete: Salimos despues de missa de San Felis y camina-  
mos al nordeste quarta al este por tierra llana sin monte, luego se  
diuisan unas lomas altas sin monte por la parte del norte, las qua-  
les corren de norueste al este, llegando a estas lomas ay
- 15 monte de mesquites, la tierra es muy andable, sin piedra y  
llegando a las ultimas lomas ay monte de ensinos, se diuisa la  
arboleda del arroyo, la tierra de las orillas de dicho arro-  
yo es colorada, primero ay un arroyo sin agua, se pasa por  
el monte que es de mesquites, y a poca distancia esta el otro

20 arroyo de agua que corre, estos dos arroyos se juntan abajo, tienen mucha arboleda de morales, ensinos, y alamos, ubo mucha sibola y pescado, caminamos este dia quatro leguas, puse por nombre a este paraje San Marcelliano por estar en el en su dia, en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^(Xaloton^)</sup>

25 que quiere desir nuses negras.

¶ Aduerto que asta esta paraje es toda una lengua de indios, desde la mission que funde en el ualle de Santiago con el titulo de San Salvador, la qual entregue al ordinario de Guadaxara, desde este paraje asta los Techas son otras leguas,

30 se siguen las naciones de indios: Catqueça, Cantona, Emet, Cauas, Sana, Tojo, Toaa, y otras naciones, el paraje referido por estar a la raya de indios que aunque son todos amigos y no tienen guerras, hablan diferente hidioma, al mismo paraje que tengo referido a quien llaman <sup>^(Xaloton^)</sup> estas otras

[folio 406v]

1 ultimas naciones que ay para llegar a los Techas le llaman <sup>^(Bataconiquiyoqui^)</sup>.

¶ lunes diesiocho: Salimos del paraje de San Marcelliano por monte de mesquites y caminamos al nor(<sup>^des</sup>)te quarta nordeste

5 asta llegar a unas lomas altas en donde se acaba el monte, en este paraje encontramos un indio que benia a caualllo y dixo como



los capitanes de las naciones: Choma, Sibola, Cantona, Cholome, Cat-  
 queça, Caynaaya benian a recebirnos de paz, pasamos adelante  
 con el mesmo indio, y despues de auer andado como media legua  
 10 encontramos a dichos capitanes y otros indios que benian con ellos, todos  
 a cauallo, asi que llegaron a nosotros, se apearon todos de sus cauallos  
 y con mucha cortesia nos saludaron, sacaron dos cartas que traian  
 de los rreliгиозos que el año pasado quedaron en los Techas, las  
 quales auian despachado por un indio que auia benido de los Te-  
 15 chas, abri dichas cartas y bide que los rreliгиозos me auisaua<n>  
 de como en los Techas auia mucha enfermedad, y que auian  
 muerto muchos indios, y que auia sido seruido su diuina mag<esta>d  
 lleuarse para si el alma del p<adre> pre<dicad>or fr<ay> Miguel Foncuberta  
 el dia sinco de febrero deste presente año ^{(requiescat in pace^),  
 20 dicho religioso dexe quando bine en aquellas misiones por  
 press<iden>te y prelado de los rreliгиозos, murio de enfermedad que  
 le duro ocho dias de calenturas y todos ellos los gasto en actos  
 de amor y pidiendo a Dios N<uestro> S<eño>r perdon y por aquellos pobres  
 infie-  
 les, despues nos dixeron dichos capitanes que su rancheria estaba  
 25 en el rrio y en uno de los dos ojos de agua de que se forma el Rio de  
 Guadalupe, fuimos juntos, y guiando dichos capitanes caminamos  
 al nordeste por tierra llana sin monte, algunas lomas tendi-

das, paramos a la orilla del arroyo que se junta al rrio, la  
 rancheria estaba dentro del monte, este dia caminamos sinco  
 30 leguas y puse por nombre a este paraje San Geruasio por salir  
 del en su dia, en lengua de los indios se llama ^{(Conaqueyadeta^)  
 que quiere desir en donde nace el rrio.

[folio 407r]

- 1 ¶ Aduertencia: Quando salieron dichos capitanes todos traian en los cauallos unas sillitas muy chiquitas, a modo de sillitas fridas y preguntandoles que de donde auia<n> sacado aquellas sillitas dixeron que las auian quitado en la guerra a los Apaches.
- 5 ¶ El dia que llegamos aquella tarde fueron todos los capitanes cada uno con su gente y en forma de prosession, el primero fue el cap<ita>n don Juan Sabiata con su gente y nacion de indios Choma, y el cap<ita>n de la nacion Cantona que traia su gente con los Chomanes, dicho cap<ita>n Cantona benia delante con una cruz de palo que dixo [que] auia muchos años que la
- 10 te(^ie)[^e]n(^e)[^i]a con mucho cuidado y ueneracion.  
 ¶ Despues bino el cap<ita>n de la nacion Sibola con su gente y los de naciones Cho-  
 lome y Caynaaya, este cap<ita>n bino delante y traia una imagen de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe que era de las que el año antecedente se repartieron y se dieron a los capitanes y que el ex<celentisi>mo s<eño>r Conde de Galue virrey

15 y capp<ita>n gen<era>l enbio para dicho efecto.

¶ Despues destos bino el cap<ita>n de la nacion Catqueça que es un indio que se llama Nicolas, muy ladino en lengua mexicana y en castilla[no], entiende quanto se le dise; este indio se crio en Parras, Saltillo y Parral, despues paso al Nueuo Mexico y otra ues boluio a los  
 20 suyos por uiuir con libertad de conciencia y sin suquesion alguna, y mas si se atiende al modo que tienen en sus malos gouiernos y barbaridades que el que es peyor y sobresale en barbaro o guerrero es tenido por mas noble y es el que tiene sequito de indios, si conoce a los españoles y les sabe hablar, hase creer a los demas  
 25 indios quanto se le antoca, y en particular que tiene a los españoles que le an dicho que le acistiran en sus guerras y en quanto se le ofreciere, con estas razones y entre indios barbaros queda qualquiera indio ladino graduado por hombre insigne entre aquellos barbaros que no son gente, todo lo referido le sobra al dicho  
 30 cap<ita>n Nicolas Catqueça, con todo esto este dia bino con su gente y traia una imagen de N<uestra> Señora de Guadalupe de las ya referidas y hiso lo mismo que los demas, que fue llegar a dos coros en forma de prosession y besarme el habito y la mano.

¶ Despues de estar todos juntos, grandes y chicos, llame a los capitanes

[folio 407v]

1 y les di a cada uno para su gente: para los hombres tabaco, naua-

cueclas, cuchillos belduques, para las mugeres rrosarios, sarsillos,  
 abalorio y bandilla colorada, quedaron todos muy contentos y mas  
 quando les lleuaron a la rancheria dos cargas de arina para  
 5 que los capitanes la repartiesen cada uno a su gente un tercio,  
 las naciones referidas de indios, Choma, Sibola, Caynaaya son indios  
 que uiuen y es su tierra la ribera del Rio del Norte, estos confi-  
 nan con los indios Salineros que uiuen en las riberas del Rio Salado  
 que se junta con el Rio del Norte, confinan tambien con los indios  
 10 Apaches y tienen guerras con ellos, los Apaches, es cordillera  
 que corre de poniente a oriente y con todos tienen guerra, solo  
 tienen pas con los Salineros, con los españoles del Nueuo Mexico an  
 tenido sienpre guerras, que aunque algunas uestes an echo pases  
 duraron poco y al fin ellos dominan todas las naciones, y disen las  
 15 otras naciones que ellos no son ualientes porque pelean con los  
 caualllos armados y ellos tienen armas defensiuas y ofensiuas,  
 son indios muy abiles y guerreros, Dios N<uestro> S<eño>r los traiga al uerda-  
 dero conocimiento de Nuestra Santa Fe Catholica, estos de nacion  
 Choma son los indios que en el Parral y Nueuo Mexico llaman Jumanes,  
 20 todos los años bienen al nacimiento del Rio de Guadalupe y algunos  
 asta los Techas, bienen a matar sibola y lleuar las pieles porque  
 en su tierra no ay sibola, asi que entran los frios se retiran a su  
 tierra.

¶ El don Juan Sabiata cap<ita>n de dichos Chomanes ^a quien llaman  
Jumanes^)

25    enseñó un titulo de gou<ernad>or de los indios de su nacion y demas naciones  
que  
se le agregaren, otro indio de la misma nacion enseñó otro titulo  
de tiniente de gou<ernad>or de dicho d<on> Juan Sabiata, ambos titulos les dio el  
gou<ernad>or de la Biscaya d<on> Juan Isidro Pardinás.

¶ Otro día fue dicho d<on> Juan Sabiata, cap<ita>n de dichos Chomanes y indio  
30    que habla en castilla[no], y me dixo que si me auia de quedar con ellos  
que de su gente auia muchos que eran christianos bautisados en el  
Parral, paso del Nueuo Mexico, yo le respondi en que parte auia-  
mos de fundar su pueblo y respondio que iriamos a su tierra que  
el no podia quedarse para de una ues, que el auer benido era

[folio 408r]

1    por la sibola y lleuar las pieles, por quedar amigos y no dessabrir-  
lo le dixe que bien sabia quan lexos estaba su tierra y que por aora  
no era posible respecto de auer quedado en los Techas el otro año  
los rreligiosos muy solos y necessitados y otro año iriamos, todas estas  
5    razones bien bide yo que no eran otra cosa sino llamadrada porque  
si ellos quisieren ministros en su tierra no dudo que los auria porque  
dichos indios todos los años entran al Parral y paso del Nueuo  
Mexico, quedamos amigos y en pas a Dios gracias.

¶ En este paraje el dicho cap<ita>n Thomas de nacion Catqueça diuulgo  
 10 entre los soldados el que no pasasen de alli porque iuan engaña-  
 dos, que la tierra de los Techas era tierra muy mala y enferma,  
 que auian querido matar a los rreligiosos y les auian quitado  
 todo lo que tenian de vacas, caualllos, ropa y la de la iglesia,  
 todo esto era con fin de uer si podia conseguir el que nos quedasemos  
 15 en aquel paraje que es su tierra y quedar con todo lo que lleuamos  
 para fundar las misiones en los Techas, mucha armonia causaro<n>  
 dichas razones en la aprehension de algunos y mas en quien los  
 gouernaba, el dicho cap<ita>n Thomas se me escondio quando fui  
 a buscarlo a la rancheria con el cap<ita>n d<on> Fran<cis>co Martinez, quien  
 20 nunca hiso caso de dichos y quentos de indios.

¶ martes diesinueue: Salimos de San Geruasio y caminamos al  
 este dos leguas por apartarnos de la rancheria y de la mucha  
 comunicasion que ya auia entre soldados y indios, la gente que  
 auia de indios entre grande y chico auria como tres mil almas,  
 25 la tierra es llana sin monte, a las dos leguas enpiesa el monte  
 que es muy grande, y a la orilla de dicho monte paramos, por  
 auer unos charcos de agua, y el otro aguaje estaba muy lexos  
 para poderle alcansar aquel dia los ganados por auer salido tarde,  
 dicho monte es de mesquites y ensinos y corre para el este, aquella no-  
 30 che binieron los capitanes a nuestro real y truxeron sinco muchachos

cautiuos, los quales dieron al gou<ernad>or d<on> Domingo Teran y a los  
soldados

por trueque de caualllos, los cautiuos son hijos de los indios de na-  
cion Muruam que uinen a los contornos del Rio de Guadalupe,  
estos tienen pas con los indios de la costa de la Baia del Spiritu San-  
35 to, este dia caminamos dos leguas.

[folio 408v]

1 ¶ miercoles beinte: Salimos de San Siluestre y caminamos al norte  
quarta nordeste por lomas de algunos mesquites y mucho pedernal,  
caminamos sinco leguas y llegamos al otro braso del Rio de Gua-  
dalupe al qual puse por nombre San (^???) [^Juan] y en lengua de los  
5 indios se llama ^(Conacannayesatetdo^) que quiere desir agua cali-  
ente, esta agua en donde nace sale muy caliente y despues corre  
fresca, ubo mucha sibola y pescado y caminamos este dia [5 leguas].

¶ jueues beinteuno: No caminamos porque la noche a[n]tecedente dio  
estanpida la cauallada, y otro dia faltaron cientoisesenta caualllos.

10 Por la mañana salio el cap<ita>n Fran<cis>co Sanches con nueue soldados y  
a mediodia boluieron con sesenta caualllos que hallaron, pasaro<n>  
en busca de los demas y aquella tarde hallaron otros quarenta, que-  
daron perdidos por todos cinquenta caualllos.

¶ viernes beinteidos: No se camino, fueron a buscar la cauallada  
15 que faltaba y no hallaron cosa ni rastro, aquella misma tar-

de llegaron dos indios de nacion Cantona y dixeron que en la rancheria auian sabido como nos faltauan los caualllos y que los capitanes y otros de sus indios benian para ir a buscarlos y ayudar a los españoles.

¶ sabado beinteitres: Antes de salir el sol llegaron al real los di-  
 20 chos capitanes con sus indios, luego que se dixo que uenian los indios mando el gou<ernad>or d<on> Domingo Teran al franses Pedro Mune[z] que abisase

a dichos indios que no entrasen dentro del real con armas, lo que pudo resultar no me atreuo a discurrir sobre ello por no ser de mi profesion, los indios por todos eran sesenta, luego se les dio harina para  
 25 que comiesen y tabaco, despues salieron dose soldados con dichos indios en busca de la cauallada que faltaua, unos indios que fueron solos sin soldados dixeron [que] les auian uisto y hallado y que por estar a pie se les fue dicha cauallada y no la truxeron, que se auian entrado al monte que es muy grande y espeso.

30 ¶ domingo beinteiquatro: Despues de missa fueron dose soldados con algunos indios de los que el dia antecedente uieron la cauallada perdida y con ellos el d<on> Juan gou<ernad>or indio Choma, no hallaron cosa ni aun

uer guella de tal cauallada por la mucha sibola que auia en toda aquella tierra y montes, boluieron sin dicha cauallada  
 35 y quedaron perdidos cinquenta caualllos, el d<on> Juan indio gou<ernad>or



de los Chomanes se hizo cargo de buscarlos con su gente y de lleuar-

[folio 409r]

1 l(l)os al Rio de San Marcos en donde le dixo el gou<ernad>or d<on> Domingo  
Teran

[que] le aguardaria y que de traer dichos cauallos todos, le daria para  
el dies a este rrio y ultimo ojo de agua uno de los brasos de que se  
conpone el Rio de Guadalupe, puse por nombre San Juan Bautista.

5 ¶ lunes beinteisinco: Salimos de San Juan Bautista y pasado el rio  
como una legua caminamos al este, y llegando a unas lomas se cami-  
na al nordeste quarta al norte por tierra sin monte algo do-  
blada de muchos arroyos y lomas, muy andable, caminamos seis le-  
guas y llegamos a un arroyo de agua que corre, tiene mucha ar-

10 boleda alta de morales, fresnos, palo blanco y parras, ubo muchis-  
sima sibola, a este paraje puse por nombre San Juan y San  
Pablo, en lengua de los indios se llama ^{Techaconaesa^} que quie-  
re desir lugar en donde ay tunas y mesquites.

¶ martes beinteiseis: Salimos de San Juan y San Pablo y caminamos al nor-  
15 deste por tierra de (^llana)[^de lo] lomas tendidas sin monte y de piedra  
pedernal, a

tres leguas ay un arroyo de mucha arboleda, todo el dia se cami-  
na a la uista de la montaña que queda por la parte del este pa-  
sado dicho arroyo se suben unas lomas y se diuisa la arbole-

da del rrio, se camina al este, pasadas las lomas ay entre el  
 20 rrio y la montaña una bega de mesquites chicos, paramos a la ori-  
 lla del Rio de San Marcos, a quien los franseses llamaron Rio  
 Colorado por serlo la tierra y al parecer el agua, el rrio tiene  
 mucha alameda, robles, sabinos, brasil y parras, ubo mucha si-  
 bola, este dia caminamos sinco leguas.

25 ¶ miercoles beinteisiete: Salimos del paraje del Rio de San  
 Marcos, pasamos el rrio, despues caminamos al este por tierra  
 llana dexando por la parte del norte la montaña y por la  
 parte del sur el mismo Rio de San Marcos, despues de  
 auer caminado como dos leguas pasamos otra ues el mismo  
 30 Rio de San Marcos, ya pasado buscamos paraje commodo  
 para parar el real y lo hallamos muy bueno, este dia cami-  
 namos como tres leguas chicas,  
 el runbo que lleuamos de seguir el rrio con tanto trabajo de auer de pa-  
 sar los ganados a nado no se puede escusar respecto de que por la par-  
 35 te del sur corre en toda la tierra una montaña inconstable asta  
 el Rio de Guadalupe y por la parte del norte otra tal, y para  
 bajar a buscar paraje al proposito para los que auian de ir

[folio 409v]

1 a la Baia del Spiritu Santo, fue fuerça bajar y buscar la tierra  
 menos trabacosa para las requas, cauallada, y ganados, todo este

rio en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^(Carcayantino^)</sup>.

- ¶ jueves beinteiocho: No se camino porque la noche antecedente  
 5 dio estanpida la cauallada y por la mañana, faltaron cinquenta y  
 dos caualllos, la misma mañana truxo el cap<sup><ita>n</sup> Fran<sup><cis></sup>co Sanches ben-  
 teisiete, los demas quedaron perdidos que fueron beinteisinco, a  
 este paraje puse por nombre San Pedro por auer dicho missa en  
 el este dia.
- 10 ¶ viernes beinteinueue: Despues de missa salimos de San Pedro  
 y caminamos como dos leguas al sur quarta sudueste por tierra  
 llana sin monte y asta un arroyo de agua que corre pasado  
 este arroyo caminamos al este por tierra muy doblada de a-  
 rroyos, serros y mucho monte de nogales, robles, pinos y parras,  
 15 este dia caminamos mas de seis leguas y paramos a la misma orilla  
 del Rio de San Marcos, esta mañana quando salimos fue el cap<sup><ita>n</sup>  
 Sanches con sinco soldados a uer si hallarian los caualllos que fal-  
 tauan y no hallaron cosa alguna.
- ¶ sabado treinta: No caminamos porque los ganados no pudieron  
 20 llegar el dia antes al paraje con nosotros, estuuimos parados a la  
 ribera del Rio de San Marcos, a este paraje puse por nombre  
 San Pablo, por llegar a el este dia, en el tronco de un arbol  
 en donde paramos, que es el arbol palo blanco <sup>^(que asi le llama<n></sup>  
 en esta tierra<sup>^)</sup> dexe grauada una cruz y los numeros del año

25 en que estamos que son: 1691.

¶ domingo primero de julio: Despues de missa salimos del paraje de San Pablo y caminamos al este, a media legua se entra al monte que es alto, de arboles, alamos, y robles, entrados al monte a dos tiros de arcabus esta un serrito alto con  
 30 una subida, arriba es tierra llana con monte de ensinos no espesos, luego se diuisa la tierra llana sin monte, a una legua esta una laguna que corre de norte al sur a quien llaman los indios en su lengua <sup>^</sup>(Nenocodadda<sup>^</sup>), tiene dicha laguna mucho pescado y caymanes, desde este puesto se ue  
 35 la arboleda del Rio de San Marcos que esta serca y para ir al rrio y al paso desde dicha laguna se camina al nordeste,

[folio 410r]

1 este dia no se paso el rrio por buscar el mejor paso para las requas, caminamos tres leguas a la dicha laguna de <sup>^</sup>(Nenocodadda<sup>^</sup>), puse por nombre San Nicolas.

¶ lunes dos: Pasamos el Rio de San Marcos, quiso Dios que todo passo muy bien y paramos a la otra parte del rrio en tierra llana  
 5 de mucho pasto para los ganados y cauallada y junto al rrio muchos ojos de agua fria que la del rrio es muy caliente y gorda.

¶ martes tres: Despues de missa salio el cap<sup><ita></sup>n d<sup><on></sup> Fran<sup><cis></sup>co Mar-

- 10 tinez para la Baia del Spiritu Santo, lleuo beinte soldados y ocho  
arrieros, cientoicinquentau allos, cinquenta mulas aparejadas, unas con  
cargas y otras para traer las cargas que ubiere y que se auian de sacar  
de las enbarcaciones, y todo para conducir los soldados que el ex<celentisi>mo  
s<eño>r Conde de Galue, virrey y capp<ita>n general desta Nueva Espana  
15 enbio por la mar, con las enbarcaciones que se aprestaron por  
orden suya en el puerto de la Verac(^??)ruz, quedamos a la otra  
banda del Rio de San Marcos aguardando a que boluiese el  
cap<ita>n d<on> Fran<cis>co Martinez con los soldados que lleuo y los que  
auian  
de salir de las enbarcaciones, no pasamos adelante porque  
20 los soldados que quedaron no eran bastantes para conducir los  
ganados y requas que auian quedado.
- ¶ Otro dia llegaron unos indios de nacion Cantona y uno de los Te-  
chas y dixo a Bernardino como en su tierra los rreliгиозos es-  
taban buenos y que auian senbrado mucho mais y no auia  
25 nouedad alguna.
- ¶ El dia siguiente: Despache dos indios de nacion Cantona con una  
carta para los rreliгиозos que estaban en los Techas, abisando-  
les de como ya estauamos en el Rio de San Marcos detenidos  
aguardando los soldados de la Baia del Spiritu Santo, y que si  
30 alla auia alguna nouedad me auisasen luego.

¶ El indio Techa que bino con los indios de nacion Cantona dixo a Bernardino que en su tierra estaban quatro indios de los Cadodachos y que desian que a su tierra de los Cadodachos auian aportado dies hombres blancos conpañeros de los que uiuian en la Baia del

[folio 410v]

- 1      Spiritu Santo, y que les auian repartido mucho abalorio, cas-  
caueles grandes y otras cosas no conocidas de los indios, estos hombres  
blancos dixeron dichos indios que auian benido de la parte donde  
sale el sol y que uiuen en aquellas partes a la ribera de un rrio.
- 5      ¶ miercoles diesiocho: Llego al cap<ita>n Fran<cis>co Martinez de la Baia del  
Spiritu  
Santo, con los soldados que lleuo, cauallada y mulas, truxo dos fransesitos  
que estauan cautiuos entre los indios de la nacion Coaucosi que uiuen  
en la costa del mar y Baia del Spiritu Santo, y fueron los que mataron  
los franseses que uiuian en aquella costa, no hallaron las embar-  
caciones y dixeron los indios de la costa que no auian aportado  
10    españoles en toda la costa, que auia sinco lunas que se auia per-  
dido en aquella costa un nauio cargado de mais y que la gente  
se auia ido con otra embarcacion mas pequena que traian y que  
de la que quedo perdida sacaron algunas cosas y se fueron,
- 15    dicho cap<ita>n Fran<cis>co Martines dexo escrita una carta al cap<ita>n de la  
nacion Coaucosi para que si llegaren algunos españoles la

de, y que por un indio nos auisasen a los Texas.

¶ jueves diesi(^ocho)[^nueve]: Los indios de nacion Choma truxeron catorse cauallos de los que auian quedado perdidos en el Rio de Guadalupe, aquella misma noche intentaron el matarnos a todos; me auisaron los dos indios que sienpre he lleuado a dichas jornadas que son de la mission que tenia de San Salvador en el ualle de Santiago, juridicion de Cohaguila, el uno cap<ita>n de la nacion Pacpules y el otro de nacion Quems, se uelo aquella noche con cuidado todos los soldados aguardando a que dichos indios quebrantasen la pas para acometerles luego con fuerça y acabarlos, ellos como uieron que los soldados auian estado toda la noche con cuydado no se atreuieron, quiso Dios no sucediesen tantas muertes como auia de auer abido.

¶ viernes beinte: Por la mañana y antes de salir el sol ya los indios sabian como nosotros auiamos estado con cuidado aquella noche por lo que ellos tenian pensado y discurrido, d<on> Domingo Teran no tubo quietud asta que a los mismos indios les re-

[folio 411r]

1 partio frasadillas, nauajuelas y tabaco, el dia antes le auia dado a d<on> Juan cap<ita>n de dichos indios un arcabus y despues esta misma mañana le dio poluora y balas de donde acabaron de inferir dichos indios el que los españoles les tenian miedo, recebido

5 todo lo referido se fueron dichos indios y nosotros quedamos en el mismo paraje.

¶ sabado beinteiuono: Salimos de San Buenauentura y Rio de San Marcos, caminamos al norte por tierra llana de mucho monte de roble, y en quatro leguas muchos arroyos de agua, como a sinco leguas se diuisa una loma alta de de mucha arbole-  
10 da por el nordeste, llegando en derechura de dicha loma se entra en tierra sin monte y paramos a la orilla de la montaña que esta por la parte del norte, en donde esta un arroyo que no corre el agua, si tiene algunos charcos de agua, a este pa-  
15 raje puse por nombre Santa Praxedes, en lengua de los indios Techas se llama <sup>^</sup>(Conactdecatdetda<sup>^</sup>), este dia caminamos siete leguas.

¶ domingo beinteidos: Despues de missa salimos de Santa Praxedes, caminamos al nor<sup>(^d)</sup>[<sup>^t</sup>]e por tierra llana de mucho monte de robles  
20 y nogales, a dos leguas se entra en tierra sin monte, se ua al nordeste, llegando al otro monte grande ay un arroyo de agua que no corre, si tiene muchos charcos, salimos del monte, y en tierra llana sin monte paramos cerca de unos charcos de dicho arroyo, este dia caminamos tres leguas y a este paraje puse por  
25 nombre Santa Maria Madalena, en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^</sup>(Sicoconatdetta<sup>^</sup>).



¶ lunes beinteitres: Salimos de Santa Maria Madalena, camina-  
 mos toda la jornada al nordeste por tierra llana sin monte  
 y lleuando sienpre a la uista la montaña por el este, y al  
 30 vestte a una legua despues de salir del paraje encontra-

[folio 411v]

1 mos tres indios que benian de los Texas, los quales auian despacha-  
 do los rreligiosos con la respuesta de la carta que escriui desde  
 el Rio de San Marcos, este dia caminamos sinco leguas y para-  
 mos en un arroyo de agua que corre, a este pasaje puse por  
 5 nombre San Apolinar por ser su dia, en lengua de los indios  
 se llama ^<sup>(Natteasba)</sup>, otro arroyto que esta ante como legua  
 y media se llama ^<sup>(Nacicit)</sup> que quiere desir en donde ay tie-  
 rra colorada como almagre.

¶ martes beinteiquatro: Salimos de San Apolinar y caminamos  
 10 al nordeste por tierra llana sin monte, llegando a la punta  
 de un monte grande que se alcansa por el mismo runbo  
 se camina al nordeste quarta al este y se baja al rrio que  
 en la jornada pasada llamamos del Spiritu Santo, este dia  
 caminamos quatro leguas, a este paraje puse por nombre  
 15 San Fran<cis>co Solano, este rrio en lengua de los indios se llama  
 ^<sup>(Baatse)</sup>.

¶ miercoles beinteisinco: Salimos de San Fran<cis>co Solano y pasamos

el rrio por lo mas ancho y en donde el agua no tiene corriente  
 que es a modo de laguna, el ganado menor paso por una pue<n>te  
 20 que se hiso de madera, pasado el rrio se sigue un monte muy  
 grande y muy espeso de sauses, alamos, fresnos y olmos, camina-  
 mos por dicho monte al norte quarta nordeste, llegando a un  
 arroyo sin agua que esta de la entrada del monte como  
 un quarto de legua, se baja por el mismo arroyo como  
 25 un tiro de arcabus y se camina al nordeste asta salir del  
 monte, luego se sigue la tierra llana sin monte, y ay un arro-  
 yoy de agua en esteros que no corre, el agua salobre  
 y muchos caymanes, ubo mucha sibola, y caminamos este  
 dia dos leguas, a este paraje puse por nombre Santiago,  
 30 en lengua de los indios se llama ^(Baconatdetta^).

[folio 412r]

1 ¶ jueves beinteiseis: Salimos de Santiago, caminamos al norte  
 quarta nordeste por tierra llana sin monte aunque sienpre lleuamos  
 a la uista por la parte del vestte una montaña muy grande y otra por  
 el este, hallamos muchos arroyos sin agua por la mucha sibola que a-  
 5 uia, este dia caminamos seis leguas y paramos en un arroyo de agua  
 que corre, que esta a la en[t]rada del monte grande que se halla por  
 el mismo runbo del norte quarta nordeste, el paraje muy ameno  
 de agua, pastos y mucha sibola, a este paraje puse por nombre

Santa Margarita, en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^</sup>(Conabatodeano<sup>^</sup>).

10 ¶ viernes beinteisiete: No caminamos porque el ganado menor no pudo llegar al paraje por el mucho calor y soles tan grandes.

¶ sabado beinteiocho: Salimos de Santa Margarita, caminamos al nordeste quarta al este por tierra llana, pasado el arroyo ay mucho monte y en todo lo demas del camino asta llegar al rrio, este rrio por este camino es mucho menor que por el otro camino de abajo por donde fuimos el año pasado, los indios le llaman <sup>^</sup>(Nabatsoto<sup>^</sup>), pasamos el rrio y afuera del monte esta una laguna de agua muy buena, con mucho pescado y caymanes, y a un tiro de arcabus esta la tierra llana sin monte en donde paramos, este dia caminamos  
15  
20 quatro leguas y puse por nombre a este paraje Nuestra Señora de la Merced.

¶ domingo beinteinueue: Despues de missa salimos de Nuestra Señora de la Merced, caminamos por tierra llana al este quarta nordeste, luego se sigue el monte que es de nogales y robles  
25 muy altos, todo muy andable, saliendo del monte esta un arroyo que tiene charcos de agua, mas adelante esta otro de la misma manera, luego se sigue la tierra llana sin monte y por el runbo de nordeste quarta al este esta otro monte grande como el pasado, y saliendo del estan unos esteros de agua  
30 en donde paramos, este dia caminamos sinco leguas y puse

por nombre a este paraje Santa Marta, en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^(Asconascattauas^)</sup> que quiere desir en donde ay fruta muy buena que llaman asi.

[folio 412v]

1 ¶ lunes treinta: Salimos de Santa Marta, caminamos al nordeste por tierra llana sin monte lleuando a la uista la montaña por la parte del este y veste, despues de pasar la sinta de monte que atrauies a ay un llano <sup>^(no el primer monte que es grande y ralo^)</sup>

5 y un arroyo de agua que corre que en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^(Soadda^)</sup>, pasado este arroyo esta un llano sin monte, se sube una lomita de monte y luego se entra en el llano, y a la entrada del monte que se sigue esta un arroyo de agua que corre y le llaman <sup>^(Nuxnatde^)</sup>, a este paraje puse por nombre San Ignacio,

10 este dia caminamos sinco leguas y paramos en este arroyo.

¶ martes treintaiuno: Salimos de San Ignacio, caminamos al nordeste, pasado un arroyo se siguen unas lomas de monte y arroyos con muchos pinos muy altos, este dia caminamos seis leguas y llegamos al Rio de la Trinidad que en lengua de los indios

15 se llama <sup>^(Conayenteuantetsos^)</sup>.

¶ miercoles y primero de agosto: Me adelante con los rreliгиозos por estar ya cerca y uiuir de espacio d<on> Domingo Teran, caminamos al nordeste, a poco trecho esta un arroyo de agua que corre muy

fresca, que le llaman los indios <sup>^(Naatta^)</sup>, luego se sigue la tierra  
 20 muy montuosa de robles, nogales y pinos, todos muy altos y que  
 no inpiden el paso, como a dos leguas hallamos otro arroyo de  
 agua muy fresca que se llama en lengua de los indios <sup>^(Neque-  
 batse^)</sup>, este dia caminamos sinco leguas, paramos en un arroyo  
 de agua fria que corre en donde ay ermosos pinos muy altos,  
 25 y en lengua de los indios se llama <sup>^(Conandotdetta^)</sup>, a este paraje  
 puse por nombre San Esteuan, estas quatro jornadas pasa-  
 das y asta el pueblo de los Tejas es camino abierto.

¶ jueues dos: Salimos de San Esteuan y caminamos al nordeste  
 por tierra muy montuosa y de muchos arroyos de agua, que  
 30 encontramos seis este dia y todos de muy buena agua muy

[folio 413r]

1 fresca, despues de auer caminado mas de dos leguas seguimos  
 al runbo al este para llegar en donde uiue el gou<ernad>or y quedo  
 la mission de San Fran<cis>co de los Texas, este dia caminamos seis  
 leguas y llegamos a la mission de San Fran<cis>co de los Texas, a Dios  
 5 las gracias, tres leguas antes de llegar encontramos a los  
 padres misioneros fr<ay> Fran<cis>co de Jesus Maria y a fr<ay> Antonio  
 Bordoy,  
 con el gou<ernad>or de los Texas y muchos indios, asi que llegamos a encon-  
 trarnos se apearon todos y nos abrasaron y enpesaron a llorar

la muerte del p<adre> fr<ay> Miguel Foncuberta y las muertes de la mu-  
10 cha gente que auia muerto de la enfermedad, caminamos  
juntos, y asi que llegamos a la mission, entramos a la iglesia a  
cantar un Te Deum Laudamus, en accion de gracias, juntamente  
con la rogatiua que todos los dias hasiamos en el camino a  
todos nuestros patrones, elegidos para el buen suceso, a la  
15 santissima cruz, a la virgen, San Miguel, San Joseph, N<uestro> P<adre>  
S<an> Fran<cis>co, San Antonio, Santa Rosa y las almas del Purgatorio.  
S<eño>r: este es el diario y derrotero que segun mi corta capa-  
cidad obserue en todo el camino, no dudo tendra muchas in-  
perfecciones, reciba V<uestra> Ex<celenci>a la buena uoluntad que es gran-  
20 de en darle gusto, muchas cosas podia poner por noticias  
que an dado los indios y por quedarme no las pongo asta  
uerlas y andar la tierra, que si Dios me da bida y salud  
se ara este año. G<uar>de Dios N<uestro> S<eño>r a V<uestra> Ex<celenci>a  
los años de  
mi deseo, desta su mission de San Fran<cis>co de los Techas  
25 en 20 de agosto de 1691 años.  
De V<uestra> Ex<cellenci>a  
Sieruo y capellan q<ue> S<u> M<ano> B<esa>  
R<euerendo> Fr<ay> Damian Massanet

## CHAPTER III

### ANALYSIS

Reliable transcriptions of the manuscripts previously described provide the foundation for a preliminary comparative analysis of the content and language encountered in each man's testimony of the expedition.

#### **Method of Presentation**

The analysis presents a chronologically comparative commentary that highlights the diaries' divergent information and language. The scope and analysis of this thesis serves as the first in a multi-party study of this expedition. As such, the commentary in this chapter concentrates on the first month of the expedition. The entries extending from May 16 to June 16 provide the basis for this commentary. This period of the expedition contains three distinct divisions. The first segment, May 16 to May 25, covers the departure of Terán and Massanet from two different locales in New Spain. The ensuing days, May 26 to June 10, finds the two expeditionary parties and their leaders united and traveling along the same route previously mapped by De León. During the final days of the first month, June 11 to June 16, a different guide leads the group along a trajectory not noted in previous expeditions.

The following format guides the presentation of the analysis. The corresponding folios from each diary precede my original English paraphrase of the salient points for each particular day. The paraphrase is composed in third person, with the events of each day placed in past tense. This writer derived this paraphrase by comparing the original documents with Hatcher's (1932) English translation and Gómez Canedo's (1988)

modernized Spanish versions. Commentary notes follow the paraphrased summary. After highlighting segments of the original Spanish from each man's diary and commenting on the divergences and discrepancies of the language and/or content presented, Chapter IV articulates conclusions and areas for future study.

As mentioned previously, the analysis begins with a treatment of the opening days of the expedition, from May 16 until May 25, although Terán and Massanet were not traveling together during this period. Terán and his troops departed from Monclova on May 16, 1691, while Massanet and his fellow priests left from the mission in Caldera. These initial diary entries provide preliminary information for contextualizing the remaining content recorded in each account. They also point to overarching contrasts that characterize the men, the expedition, and ultimately the successes and failures of this pivotal journey. Given that Terán found himself primarily engaged with the care and relocation of troops, supplies and animals, his diary entries indicate he rarely recorded the proceedings of the journey with daily entries in his dairy. Rather, he tended to group the activities of several days together, within the contents of one day's entry. For example, a paraphrase of his entry for May 24 states: "This day [May 24] and the next [May 25] he dispatched a soldier with a letter to His Excellency, telling him that all the people from both parties of this expedition had assembled" (TR 455r4-9). This entry illustrates that Terán recorded this information after May 25. Whereas this entry groups the events of May 24 and the following day, his entries also produce a converse pattern, that is, the entry for a particular day will deal with the events of that day and previous days. For example, his entry for May 28 records the storm that occurred on the night of



their arrival, May 21, and the ensuing stampede and search to recover the lost animals. He states they remained in the same campsite for four days due to the stampede and recovery effort, from May 22-25. Thus, the May 28 entry contains information concerning the dates of May 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 28.

Conversely, Massanet's diary provides separate entries for almost every day, separating each day's events. Since this study presents a chronological comparison of each man's account, the author implemented a system to place in parallel and chronological format the folios dealing with a corresponding date. Table 1 lists the folios from each man's diary according to dates. To indicate when a daily entry clusters the events of more than one day under a single diary entry, these particular folio numbers are enclosed in parentheses, indicating the information is contained within another date's entry. Table 1 lists the corresponding folios from each diary, beginning on May 26, the first day when Terán and Massanet joined forces in *Charco del Pescado*.

Date	Terán	Massanet
5/26	455r10 – 15	402r17 – 24
5/27	455r16 – 21	402r25-34
5/28	455r22 – 456r21	402v1-15
5/29	(455r27)	402v16 – 18
5/30	(455r27/ (455r28-455v4)	402v19 – 22
5/31	(455r27)	402v23 – 24
6/1	(455r27)	402v25 – 403r8
6/2	No entry	403r9 – 11
6/3	456r22 – 26	403r12 – 23
6/4	456r27 – 456v4	403r24 – 403v4
6/5	456v5-10	403v5 – 16
6/6	456v11 – 17	403v16 – 32
6/7	456v18 – 457r2	403v33 – 404r14
6/8	456r1 – 2	404r15 – 18
6/9	457r3 – 11	404r19 – 28
6/10	(457r10 – 11)	404r29 – 404v3
6/11	457r12 – 22	404v4 – 28
6/12	457r23 – 457v1	404v29 – 405r10
6/13	457v2 – 19	405r11 – 25
6/14	(457v18 – 19)	405r26 – 405v17
6/15	457v20 – 27	405v18 – 26
6/16	457v28 – 458r4	405v27 – 406r10
6/17	458r5 – 10	406r11 – 406v2
6/18	458r11 – 15	406v3 – 408r20
6/19	458r16 – 458v14	408r21 – 35
6/20	458v15 – 459r3	408v1 – 7
6/21	No entry	408v8 – 13
6/22	No entry	408v14 – 18
6/23	No entry	408v19 – 29
6/24	No entry	408v30 – 409r4
6/25	459r4 – 8	409r5 – 13
6/26	459r9 – 18	409r14 – 24
6/27	(459r16-18)	409r25 – 409v3
6/28	(459r16-18)	409v4 – 9
6/29	459r19 – 24	409v10 – 18
6/30	(459r23-24)	409v19 – 25

Table 1. Corresponding Daily Entries of Terán and Massanet Diaries by Folio

Date	Terán	Massanet
7/1	459r25 – 460r15	409v26 – 410r3
7/2	(459v1-3)	410r4 – 8
7/3	(459v1-3)	410r9 – 21
7/4	No entry	410r26 – 410v4
7/5	No entry	410r26 – 410v4
7/6	No entry	No entry
7/7 – 7/17	No entry	No entry
7/18	No entry	410v5 – 17
7/19	No entry	410v18 – 29
7/20	(459v22-460r15)	410v30 – 411r6
7/21	(459v22-460r15)	411r7 – 17
7/22	460r16 – 25	411r18 – 26
7/23	460r26 – 460v3	411r27 – 411v8
7/24	460v4 – 8	411v9 – 15
7/25	460v9 – 19	411v16 – 30
7/26	(460v13-19)	412r1 – 9
7/27	(460v13-19)	412r10 – 11
7/28	460v20 – 26	412r12 – 21
7/29	(460v25-25)	412r22 – 23
7/30	(460v25-25)	412v1 – 10
7/31	460v27 – 461r5	412v11 – 15
8/1	461r6 – 14	412v16-27
8/2	(461r13-14)	412v28 – 413r23
	461r15 – 23	

Table 1. (continued)

## **Diary Entry: Summary of Opening Remarks from the Diaries and Commentary**

*1. Summary.* **TR 454r1-19** This diary presents a description and daily demarcation of the explored territory and the entrances of the bays in search of a port. General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, Military Governor of the Kingdom and Province of the Texas, in command both by land and sea of all the territory explored, extending from the North to the South. Terán served as a representative of His Excellency, the Viceroy. This journey was made according to the orders of His Excellency, Conde de Galve, Viceroy, Lieutenant Governor, and Captain General of New Spain. The power and authority of the King also maintained authority over this undertaking. Certain things would be omitted from this diary. Dated, May 16, 1691.

**M 400r {Title page}** Diary and course to the province of the Techas made in 1691. This journey was made by order of His Excellency Señor Conde de Galve, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain.

*2. Commentary.* Terán is careful to include his own official title and position of authority in the expedition, omitting altogether any mention of the authority assigned to Father Massanet, prescribed in detail in the instructions for the expedition (AGNMexHist, vol. 27, fols. 16-23). Neither does he state the limits of the authority prescribed him under the instructions for the expedition. He fails to mention that Massanet retained sole authority over the supplies, the horses, and the cattle, destined for the establishment and support of the missions and for the gratification of the Indians. He also omits that the first and primary purpose of the undertaking was the establishment of missions and the spread of the Catholic Faith and the Holy Gospel. The instructions from

the Viceroy, Conde de Galve, further stated that Governor Terán had no power of intervention in the above stated matters. His sole jurisdiction included his soldiers and subordinates, making certain they conducted themselves in an appropriate manner and that they protect the supplies and stock. The written instructions further commanded him to explore the Province of the Texas Indians and the surrounding territory and mountain ranges, and especially to investigate the existence of any remaining habitations established by the French or other nations of Europe, whether large settlements or scattered individuals, ecclesiastics or seculars. He was to take the seculars as prisoners and bring them to court, but without harsh treatment. This entry by Terán balances his omissions with an important ending note: he states that will omit certain things for the time being (TR 454r8-13). By contrast and with typically Franciscan manner, Massanet draws no attention to his own authority or power concerning the expedition (M 400r).

**Diary Entry: Wednesday, May 16**

*1. Summary.* **TR 454r20-454v3** Terán departed from the Presidio of Coahuila, and traveled toward the Kingdom of the Texas and other northern provinces. The Fathers of *Santo Evangelio* accompanied Terán. They also possessed the necessary supplies, munitions, horses and attendants and the royal standard. The party traveled one league to the north and set up camp.

**M 401v1-26** Damían Massanet left from the Mission San Salvador del Valle de Santiago, Coahuila, with the following missionaries and ministers: Fray Francisco Hidalgo, Fray Nicolas Recio, Fray Miguel Estelles, Fray Pedro Fortuny, Fray Pedro Garcia, Fray Ildefonso Monge, Fray Joseph Saldaña, Fray Antonio Miranda and Fray

Juan de Garayicochca, three brothers and a boy whom he brought from Querétaro. The purpose of this undertaking was the spiritual conquest of the souls of the gentile Techas Indians and other nations allied with them. These Indians all hold patents from the Reverend Father, the Commissary General of New Spain, Father Juan de Capistrano and Viceroy Conde de Galve.

2. *Commentary.* Father Massanet names the priests who accompanied him on the expedition, and mentions the three brothers and one boy that he brought with him from Querétaro. Massanet names other individuals throughout his diary, including Indian guides and captains (M 401r3-7). Terán frequently omits such details. For example, his opening entry of the diary states that the fathers of *Santo Evangelio* are with him, without naming any of the men. Furthermore, this entry leads the reader to believe the priests depart with him from Monclova, which is not the case (TR 454r25).

Massanet states explicitly the purpose of this expedition is the spiritual conquest of the souls of the gentile Techas Indians and other nations allied with them. This concurs with the purpose expressed in the instructions for the expedition previously mentioned. He also testifies that these Indians have patents from Father Juan de Capistrano.

Hatcher translates the phrase *almas de los indios gentiles* as ‘the souls of the barbarous Indians’ (Hatcher 1932: 48). *Gentil* is defined as someone as an idolater or pagan, one who does not recognize or give reverence to the one true God (DA 1732: 44, s.v. *gentil*). Although barbarism, and its corresponding adjectives “barbaric” and “barbarous” were terms commonly used to characterize the Indians by early diarists,

Massanet's account appears to avoid these terms in his characterizations of the Indians. In fact, in many entries, he points to their kindness, gentleness, and helpfulness toward the Spaniards of this expedition. This variation between the wording from the original diary and Hatcher's English translation demonstrates that either the later base manuscript, AGNMexHist, utilized by Hatcher, underwent a change in wording from the original diary of Massanet, or that she inaccurately translated the manuscript (M 401r7-10).

Present day Candela, Coahuila, serves as the starting point for Massanet and his traveling party. Alessio Robles (1938: 69) mentions that Alonso De León founded the Mission San Bernardino de la Candela in 1690, at the same place as the site of the old Caldera mission. Gómez Canedo (1988: 12) states in the introductory section of his book that Massanet founded the Mission San Salvador in 1689 near the old Mission of San Bernardino de la Caldera. Massanet supervised this mission when De León became governor of Coahuila and departed from this mission to accompany De León to Texas in the expedition of 1689 (Castañeda 1936-1958: 256). Massanet also acknowledges the transfer of power from himself to Juan Bautista de Zepeda as the administrator of the mission, thereby demonstrating his previous authority over the mission (M 400r11-19).

The instructions provided that the expedition depart from Monclova. With two divergent starting points Massanet and Terán had to decide on a mutually agreed upon meeting point before their individual departures from different origination points or that they utilized scouts or couriers to arrange their meeting. Later diary entries demonstrate an apparent confusion concerning this meeting place.

**Diary Entry: Thursday, May 17**

*1. Summary.* **TR 454v4-8** The journey continued a quarter to the northeast, a quarter to the north for seven leagues. They established their campsite on the river, which Terán named *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*.

**M 401r27-401v11** The expeditionary party left San Ubaldo and walked toward the northeast through level country without trees. Three leagues away are some lagoons which flow toward the east during the rainy season. They contain many catfish and clams. They crossed said lagoons and arrived at a mesquite woods. From there they spotted some high timberless hills, leading them to the east following the banks of the Sabinas River. They arrived at the crossing of this river and made camp. The journey covered five leagues this day. Massanet named this place and river *San Pasqual Railón* because it was the day of that Saint. The Indians call it *Guansan*, which means ‘little river.’

*2. Commentary.* Hatcher (1932: 55) translates *esteros de agua salobre* as ‘lakes of brackish water’ (1932: 48). In another instance, she translates *salobre* as ‘salty’ (fol. 406r4). These variations in the levels of saltiness of the water are significant, especially with respect to identifying the geographical proximity of these locations to larger bodies of salt water. Hatcher’s English translations are consistently imprecise when dealing with the size of these bodies of water, as well as the animal life found in the creeks, streams and lagoons.

Massanet records that these waters contained *mucho pescado bagre y mucha almeja* (fol. 401v3-4)). The synonym for *estero* is *albufera* (DA 1732: 634, s.v. *almeja*).



*Albufera* is ‘a lagoon or lake where rain waters collect or where waters collect among hills. These can also form when waters come inland from the ocean or from rivers that run toward the ocean’ (DA 1732: 173, s.v. *albufera*). Since Massanet writes that they crossed these bodies of water, they were more likely ‘lagoons’ or ‘marshes’ than ‘lakes’ as translated by Hatcher.

Spanish diarists named a number of different species of fish (Foster 1995: 233-246). However, many of them have no English equivalent. For example, DA does not contain the word *bagre* ‘catfish.’ Many words do have an English equivalent, such as *almeja*, ‘clam.’ In this passage, (M401v3-4) Hatcher translates *almeja* as “perch” (1932: 48). *Almeja* is ‘a species of *marisco*, between two small shells’, clearly not a perch (DA 1732: 674, s.v. *almeja*).

This passage also serves as the first among many entries where Massanet provides the Indian name for a place and its equivalent definition in Spanish, indicating that Massanet and/or his Indian guide understood enough of both languages to translate from one language to the other or that De León’s diary contained this information (M 401v10-11). Terán’s diary contains Indian words and their Spanish equivalents.

### **Diary Entry: Friday, May 18**

*1. Summary.* **TR 454v9-17** They traversed alongside the south bank of the river below Nadadores and traveled between two hills. In the previous expedition these hills had been named *Baluartes*, and in the present Terán named them *Los Dos Farallones*. They encountered a large cottonwood tree that stood taller than the others at this

campsite. They camped along the riverbanks that night after traveling seven leagues. This land contained good pastures; Terán renamed it *Nuestra Señora de Guía*.

**M 401r12-16** Massanet and his party did not travel because they were moving the stock and mares. This area had a place to cross the rocky ford, although it was difficult, especially for the animals carrying cargo. This crossing was the best one along this area of the river and contained many cedar, ash and cottonwood trees. The stock made the crossing successfully.

2. *Commentary*. Hatcher (1932: 48) translates the Spanish word *requas* according to the Spanish term *yegua*, meaning mare (DRAE). The meaning of the word according to its correct orthography, *recua*, carries the meaning of ‘a train of loaded animals, which serve to carry supplies’ (DM 2000: s.v. *recua*). Terán’s diary does not contain this word, but uses more frequently the term *cavallada* to refer to the herd of animals, male and female, that comprised the animals of the expedition.

#### **Diary Entry: Saturday, May 19**

1. *Summary*. **TR 454v18-26** They proceeded toward the east, a quarter to the northeast, following the river to the meeting of the *Coahuila, Nadadores y Sabinas* Rivers. Terán named them *San Francisco y Sabinas* because there were many *tarayes* (meaning unclear). They crossed the river above this junction and set up camp after having traveled six leagues. Terán and his soldiers remained at this campsite until May 24, waiting for the arrival of Massanet and his expeditionary party, who had departed from Caldera.

**M 401v17-27** The priests and those traveling with them departed from *San Pasqual Railón* and the *Río Sabinas*. They headed northward through flat land that possessed small clusters of mesquites and prickly pear. A league and a half away was a large salt marsh but it had no water; it did provide very good salt in some places. After traveling further, they arrived at the foot of a range of hills. Here sat a very large lagoon, which in times of drought contained no water. They stopped after traveling six leagues. Massanet named this site *San Felix* because it was his day. The Indians call it *Chacalep*, and the Spaniards call it *Charco del Pescado*.

2. *Commentary.* Massanet's May 19 entry (fol. 401v19) records the presence of *nopales*, which Hatcher translates as 'prickly pear.' It is difficult to identify this plant with certainty because over thirty different species of the Latin species *Opuntia lindheimeri* (cactus) have been identified (Vines 1960).

Terán identifies the presence of *tarayes* in this day's entry (TR 454v22). This plant is described as 'the same plant as a *Tamarisco* (DA 1732: 228, s.v. *taray*). *Tamarisco* is 'a tree of medium height whose leaves are long and similar to those of the cypress. Its flowers are small white when they open, and each flower has five leaves. It produces a fruit that encloses a black seed' (DA 1732: 218, s.v. *tamarisco*). DRAE describes this plant as 'a bush with many stems arising from the base of the plant, with pods that have partitions between the seeds, which rattle when they are dried' (DRAE s.v. *taray*). Vine (1960: 545-555) classifies the plant as the 'Drummond rattlebox' or 'siene bean', but Hatcher (1932: 10) refers to this tree as a *Tamarind*, defining it as "a small willow tree growing in swampy ground in Texas". Massanet does not record this

plant/tree in his diary. A future study of the plant life mentioned by De León as well as those that followed the expedition of Terán and Massanet would add more depth and detail to the limited body of knowledge concerning early Texas botany.

**Diary Entry: Sunday, May 20**

*1. Summary.* **TR (455v24-26)** [*olim* Terán's entry for May 19] They made camp after covering six leagues and remained at this campsite until May 24, waiting for the troops and people from Caldera.

**M 401v28-29** Massanet's group did not travel because they were expecting Governor Don Domingo Terán who was coming from Coahuila with his soldiers.

*2. Commentary:* Terán indicates in his daily entry for May 19 that he and his troops remained at their campsite until May 24 waiting for the Massanet and his group. By contrast, Massanet's entry of May 20 recounts that he and his party did not travel from their campsite because they were waiting for the arrival of Governor Terán de los Ríos. It appears the two groups were waiting for one other in two separate places at the same time.

The instructions for the expedition provided for the departure from Monclova (AGNMex, Hist, vol. 27, fols. 16-23). Massanet explains in his entry for the following day May 21, that he and his party did not travel to Monclova for departure with Terán and his troops because it would have added over forty leagues through difficult terrain and resulted in the loss of animals.

That each expeditionary party remained encamped in close proximity to the other, waiting for one another's arrival, reflects at least miscommunication or misunderstanding regarding the meeting place (TR 454v24-26 / M 401v28-29).

**Diary Entry: Monday, May 21**

*1. Summary.* **TR (455r25-455v4)** [*olim* Terán's May 28 entry where he recounts the stampede, a week after the incident occurred]: They camped here four days because of the stampede on the night of their arrival, which caused the loss of sixty horses and nine mules. Eight soldiers went in search of them. During the search they divided in troops and covered fifteen to twenty leagues.

**M 401v30-402r14** Governor Don Domingo Terán arrived at the campsite with his soldiers. Captain Don Francisco Martínez dispatched two soldiers up the river who went to meet the Governor and guide him to the place where Massanet was encamped. This was the meeting place decided on earlier due to its convenience for the livestock. If Massanet had departed from Nuevo León by way of Monclova they would have had to travel more than forty leagues along bad roads, and the stock would not have been able to make the trip and would have been lost. There was a great deal of horn blowing and drum beating this night. The Governor told them not to play because the noise would frighten the horses and they would run away. That night there was a stampede of horses and the next morning 150 were gone. The ones that remained almost died from being ran so hard while trying to locate the lost horses that had given stampede and ran away.

*2. Commentary.* The parties now united, this incident shows the first of many cases where Massanet provides greater detail concerning the events than Terán. His

omission on this date's entry concerning the stampede and loss of horses illustrates the more skeletal nature of his diary compared to that of Massanet's, perhaps as a result of his intense involvement in the recovery of animals. As mentioned previously, Terán comments on the stampede in his entry for May 28, a week after the incident occurred.

Massanet's count of 150 lost horses diverges from Terán's tally of 60 lost horses and 9 mules (fol. 455r29). Terán, responsible for the livestock, cites that the search party recovered eighteen of the lost animals (fol. 455v4). Massanet gives no indication of whether they recovered animals or not.

Terán's July 28 diary entry states that they remained in this campsite for four days because of the stampede. By contrast, Massanet's entry for the following day, May 22, states that they did not travel because Terán had opted to write and dispatch mail to the Viceroy. These two very different reasons for halting travel toward the land of the Tejas, demonstrate the differing points of view held by each man, even concerning reasons for halting the journey.

Terán's week-late diary entry for May 21 represents the first of numerous daily entries where he records the events of a day much after the events, and where he compresses several days' information together under a single diary entry.

#### **Diary Entry: Thursday, May 24**

*1. Summary. TR 454v27-455r9* The march made its way down the river and alongside a hill. They crossed the river that runs eastward, then walked seven leagues, leaving behind the hills and rocky crags of New Spain. Camp was formed at the site named in the former expeditions *El Real del Pescado*; in the expedition under Terán's

leadership its name changed to *La Asencion del Señor* because it was his day. This day and the next Terán dispatched a soldier carrying a formal report to the Viceroy, informing him that the two expeditionary parties had united.

2. *Commentary.* Terán's entry for May 28 states that they did not travel for four days because of the stampede on the night of May 21. Yet his entry for travel began on May 24, two days after the stampede. The fact that Massanet has no entries for May 24 or 25 casts doubt on the validity of Terán's account of the expedition moving on May 24.

Further verification that the expedition party remained encamped is found in Massanet's entries for May 19 and May 26. On the May 19 entry, he names the campsite at San Felix (401v25); his entry for May 26 notes their departure from San Felix (402r17). This verifies Terán's May 28 statement that they remained at this campsite four additional days, which implies they would not have traveled on May 24, unless Terán and his group had traveled separately from Massanet's party.

#### **Diary Entry: Friday, May 25**

1. *Summary.* **TR (455r4-9)** [*olim* May 24 entry]: This day and the next he dispatched a soldier to His Excellency with a formal account of how the Fathers of *Santo Evangelio*, the cavalry, troops, supplies, munitions and all the people who comprise the expedition had assembled.

#### **M No entry**

2. *Commentary.* Massanet's diary contains no entries for May 23-25. This coupled with his entry from May 22 stating they did not travel on that day seems to

provide more evidence that the party remained at San Felix for four days. One needs the information provided in each man's diary to have a clearer understanding concerning May 21-25.

Hatcher (1932: 10) translates *viveres y pertrechos* as 'supplies and baggage' in this daily entry of Terán (TR 455r8-9). However, in fol. 454r26, she translates the same phrase as "supplies and munitions" (Hatcher 1932: 8). Either her manuscript base changes the word, or Hatcher chose two different words to translate the same word from the Spanish documents, each conveying different meanings.

#### **Diary Entry: Saturday, May 26**

*1. Summary.* **TR 455r10-15** Moving to the northeast, a quarter to the north, they formed their campsite between two ponds of rain water. They marched five leagues through flat land, and in this land are thickets of brambles, commonly referred to as cat's claw.

**M 404r17-24:** Departing from *San Felix*, they traveled northeast through flat country. After three leagues, a deposit of saltpeter running toward the south was seen; further aware one could observe some ranges of low hills. They marched five leagues this day and stopped near some lagoons of water, which Massanet named *San Felipe Neri* because it was his day. In other expeditions, they called it *El Agua Verde*. The Indians call it *Asanquan*, meaning 'heart.'

*2. Commentary.* Terán writes that they traveled to the northeast, a quarter to the north. Massanet records the direction strictly to the northeast (TR 455r10-11 / M 402r17). This seems at first glance to be a minor conflict in details. They were traveling



with the guidance of an astrolabe and use of De León's previous expeditionary diary. The divergent information concerning the direction traveled reflects, at a minimum, that the men did not confer with one another concerning their individual records about the direction. This contradicts the instructions given for the expedition in yet another way because the instructions provided for the description of the trip to be kept in the form of a single diary, written in consultation with Massanet and the accompanying priests, and Captain Martínez. They were not to postpone until the subsequent day entering events and discoveries. As soon as camp was made, the leaders were to hold a conference for this purpose, after which Terán and Massanet held the responsibility for approving these daily recordings (AGNMexHist, vol. 27, fols. 16-23).

A careful reading of both M and TR's diaries confirms that each kept an individual account, with little collaboration between the authors regarding content, including the direction traveled each day. The entries where both men record a direction do not correspond on at least twenty-six days. Terán frequently records only one direction traveled, while Massanet frequently describes changes in direction, as well as describing the terrain they travel through, and provides a thorough description of the topography of the upcoming terrain that lay before them.

These recorded discrepancies bear further investigation for several reasons. From May 26 through June 11, Terán and Massanet followed the same route taken by De León on his previous expeditions (Bolton 1996; Foster 1995; AGNMexPI). After June 11, they traveled along a new route, not traveled before, and with a different guide, according to both men's diaries (AGNMexPI).

Foster's study of the expedition presents a table which notes the direction traveled each day, beginning June 3, omitting information from the previous week. For the majority of dates, Foster lists only one direction traveled and seems to prefer Terán's information. He does not reference the source for the direction traveled, but only that he based his research on three diary accounts of the trip, which were: Hatcher's English translation of Terán and Massanet's diaries, the manuscript AGNMexPI of Terán's diary, and the diary kept by Captain Francisco Martínez (1995: 51). He does not mention the use of the original of Massanet's diary for his study, only that of Terán. The lack of detail found in Terán's diary coupled Massanet's obvious familiarity with the country they were passing through, having traveled through this same territory on the 1689-90 De León expeditions, highlights the necessity for using Massanet's diary when analyzing this expedition. Similarly, Hatcher's English translation contains discrepancies from the originals concerning the daily direction traveled, which will be noted later in this analysis. Table 2 presents a summary of each man's account of the direction traveled from their respective diaries.

Date	Terán	Massanet
5/26	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N	NE
5/27	NE	NE
5/28	N	NE, N
5/29	Did not travel	Did not travel
5/30	Did not travel	Did not travel
5/31	Does not say	Does not say
6/1	Does not say	Does not say
6/2	Does not say	Does not say
6/3	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	N
6/4	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N	NE
6/5	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N	NE
6/6	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N	NE
6/7	E 2 leagues N inclining E 2 leagues	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE
6/8	Not indicated	Did not travel
6/9	N	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E
6/10	Not indicated	Did not travel
6/11*	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE, E, NE, E, N, NE
6/12	E	NE, E
6/13	E	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E
6/14	Not indicated	Did not travel
6/15	From the E	E $\frac{1}{4}$ NE
6/16	Not indicated	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E
6/17	E $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E
6/18	E	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE; NE
6/19	E	E
6/20	E $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE
6/21	Not indicated	Did not travel
6/22	Not indicated	Did not travel
6/24	--	--

Table 2. Directions Traveled from Terán and Massanet Diaries\*

\*Massanet and Terán note in their entries of June 11<sup>th</sup> that from this day on, they are traveling in a different direction and through different terrain from the previous two expeditions led by De León.

Date	Terán	Massanet
6/25	E	E; NE $\frac{1}{4}$ N
6/26	E $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	NE; E
6/27	Did not travel	E
6/28	Did not travel	Did not travel
6/29	Does not say	S $\frac{1}{4}$ SE
6/30	Did not travel	Did not travel
7/1	S	E
7/2	Did not travel	Not indicated
7/3-7/20	Did not travel	Did not travel
7/21	Did not travel	N
7/22	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	N
7/23	Does not say	NE
7/24	Does not say	NE; NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E
7/25	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE
7/26	Did not travel	N $\frac{1}{4}$ NE
7/27	Did not travel	Did not travel
7/28	From N, $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	NE $\frac{1}{4}$ E
7/29	Did not travel	E $\frac{1}{4}$ NE
7/30	Did not travel	NE
7/31	From N, $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	NE
8/1	From N, $\frac{1}{4}$ NE	NE
8/2	Did not travel	NE

Table 2. (continued)

**Diary Entry: Sunday, May 27**

*1. Summary.* **TR 455r16-21** They maintained the march to the northeast, arriving at the banks of an arroyo where the Indians had found the Frenchman, Joan. They marched four leagues and set up camp. Terán renamed this place *San Francisco de Borja*.

**M 402r25-34** They departed from *San Phelippe Neri* and walked to the northeast following some small hills, stopping along an arroyo of brackish water. They walked five leagues. Indians from the following nations were with the expeditionary party: Mescales, Yoricas, Chome, Parchacas, Machome, Pamau. All of these nations live from the area of the *Rio Grande* or *Rio del Norte* to the *Rio de Sabinas*. They do not stay in a particular place; they always move around, searching for buffalo and the foods that the ground gives them. They do not plant crops and are not accustomed to working. To this place Massanet gave the name *San Juanijo*. The Indians in their language call it *Guagual*.

*2. Commentary.* Terán records the distance traveled for the day as four leagues, while Massanet claims they journeyed five leagues. A discrepancy of only one league when describing the distance traveled for a day does not appear to be a notable difference. However, a comparison of the daily distances traveled during the expedition reflects a significant difference when observed in their totality (TR 455r19 / M 402r27).

Table 3 summarizes the daily distance traveled according to each diary. The total variation of the discrepancies amounts to fifty-nine leagues, which represents a difference of more than one hundred miles. This seems to indicate that several days of the journey found Massanet and his expeditionary party traveling while Terán and his troops remained encamped, or visa versa. The dairy entries for August 1 and 2 confirm that the parties traveled separately on those dates. A study of the remainder of the expedition would provide further conclusions concerning daily distances and directions traveled.

Foster (1995:73) notes in his study of the expedition that Terán moved his camp about seven leagues downstream during the time Captain Martínez went on the side trip to Matagorda Bay to meet the supply ship, July 3-19. Foster adds that Terán departed camp on July 22, continuing the trek northeast into East Texas, whereas Massanet reported that his party left the same campsite on July 21 and traveled north seven leagues (1995: 73). Massanet's diary entry for July 21 actually states that they walked to the north, and four leagues away. There were many arroyos of water. At five leagues they observed a tall hill with many trees toward the northeast. They arrived directly at this hill, indicating that Massanet traveled in a northeasterly direction on this day as well, contradicting the information cited by Foster.

Date	Terán	Massanet	Difference
5/26	5	5	
5/27	4	5	1
5/28	6	5	1
5/29	--	0	
5/30	--	0	
5/31	--	--	
6/1	--	0	
6/2	--	0	
6/3	4	--	
6/4	4	5	1
6/5	4	4	
6/6	4	6	2
6/7	6	6	
6/8	--	0	
6/9	6	5	1
6/10	0	0	
6/11	6	6	
6/12	5	5	
6/13	5	5	
6/14	0	0	
6/15	5	5	
6/16	4	4	
6/17	4	4	
6/18	4	5	1
6/19	4	2	2
6/20	4	5	
6/21	--	0	
6/22	--	0	
6/23	--	0	
6/24	--	0	
6/25	4	6	2
6/26	4	5	
6/27	0	3 ~	3
6/28	0	0	
6/29	1	6+	5+
6/30	0	0	
7/1	6	4.5	1.5
7/2	0	--	
7/3	0?	0	

Table 3. Daily Distances Traveled from Terán and Massanet Diaries

Date	Terán	Massanet	Difference
7/4 – 7/19	--	--	
7/20	--	0	
7/21	--	7	7
7/22	5	3	2
7/23	3	5	2
7/24	6	4	2
7/25	4	2	2
7/26	0	6	6
7/27	0	0	
7/28	6	4	2
7/29	0	5	5
7/30	0	5	5
7/31	4	6	2
8/1	5	5	
8/2	0	6	6

Table 3. (continued)



Terán omits information concerning the presence of the Indians noted by Massanet (M 402r28-33). In fact, on his diary entry for the following day, Terán reports not having encountered any of the Indians reported to inhabit this area in previous expeditions. Many of the Indians encountered in this area traveled to this area hunting for buffalo or enroute to the documented Indian trade fairs held in this region (NHT). Massanet, as missionary to the Indians, had a stake in recording their presence as well as documenting the encounters with these indigenous peoples. Massanet's dairy progressively incorporates more information concerning the Indians, the encounters with various tribes and individuals, their language and beliefs. The limited scope of this study prevents a detailed anthropological and archeological study of the tribes named and other information provided by Massanet and Terán in their diaries.

**Diary Entry: Monday, May 28**

*1. Summary.* **TR 455r22-456r21** The march continued northward following the *Río Grande*. Other expeditions assigned it this name, but Terán named it *Río del Norte*, claiming this to be the river's true name. They established camp above and on the banks of this river and remained here four days after a stampede occurred on the night of their arrival, May 21. This stamped resulted in the loss of sixty horses plus nine mules. Eight soldiers went in search of them. The soldiers split up in search of the animals, but only recovered eighteen of them.

The Indians from the nations of the Odoesmades, the Mescales, the Momones and others who are their allies inhabit this area. Many of these were encountered in the previous expeditions, but in the present expedition none were seen. The area also

maintained abundant herds of buffalo. Ravines and hills characterized the terrain and the ground was firmer than the preceding part. Many medium-sized *taray* trees were seen, and cats' claws as well. Terán named the river *Santa Elvira y el Norte* because that was its true title. After marching six leagues along its banks, they crossed to the other side, losing forty-nine head of livestock, and three which drowned when crossing the river because of its very rapid current. This current extended from bank to bank. The width of the river was the distance of a gunshot. The people crossed the river on horseback, while some transported the 1700 head of smaller stock in their arms and against the strong current. The water was rising so rapidly that it threatened the lives of everyone in the party. Attributing their success to the Lady of Guadalupe, Terán placed three wooden crosses at their campsite to encourage the expeditionary party to maintain the faith. The crosses were also for the apostate Indians in the hope of their continued conversion and reduction into the bosom of the Church. A terrible storm came this night, with thunder, lightning, wind and rain. The wind blew from all directions, tearing down all the tents. The storm lasted from one o'clock until four o'clock in the morning, ripping up the many trees by their roots and causing damage to the tent and trunks of Terán.

**M 402v1-15** They left *San Juanijo* headed northeast through level but at times broken ground. Still, it was very navigable. After traveling about three leagues through some high hills, the shores of the river can be seen. They walked to the north, and about a league before arriving at the river, they found an arroyo of water that flows into the river, where they noted tall reeds. This day they walked five leagues and stopped on the banks of the *Río del Norte*, which others call *Río Grande*, others *Río Turbio* because

the water is always that way. To this camp was given the name *San Fernando* because of having Mass on his day. In the language of the Indians they call it *Pulapacxam*, which means ‘where chickens grow.’ The Indians also call it *Guanapetnana*, which means ‘agua grande.’

2. *Commentary*: Massanet puts the crossing of the river on June 1, not May 28 as Terán records. Terán’s diary also describes this region as having ravines and hills, *barranqueras y morros* (455v13), which Hatcher (1932: 11) translates as ‘canyons’ and ‘peaks.’ This imprecise translation highlights another example of inexact information in the English translation and inaccuracy in characterizing the territory.

#### **Diary Entry: Monday, June 4**

1. *Summary*. **TR 456r27-456v4** They marched to the northeast, a quarter to the north through level land and after five leagues made camp at an arroyo which had been named *Ramos* in the previous expeditions. Terán changed its name to *San Cayetano*.

**M 403r24-403v4** After Mass, they left *San Bernardo* and walked to the northeast through flat terrain with few trees. About a league away, they saw a forest, running alongside an arroyo. This arroyo flows from the northeast to the south; the southern part contains no water. They continued to the northeast and a quarter east through a range of mesquite-covered hills. Finally, they arrived at the banks of an arroyo holding a great deal of water. A gunshot’s distance away, they camped at a location where four tall oak trees with many leaves stood. In previous expeditions this place was called *Arroyo del Pullón* because a soldier caught a *bagre de pullón* (this fish has no English equivalent). Massanet named it *San Matías*. The Indians called it *Samenpajo*.

2. *Commentary.* Terán's entry orients the march toward the north, a quarter to the northeast, whereas Massanet has them traveling to the northeast, then changing to an easterly direction. Hatcher's English translation of Terán's diary compiles information from both diaries. She writes that they continued the march "toward the north, a quarter northeast" (1923: 12). Again, either the manuscript utilized by Hatcher differs from the one utilized in this study, or she mistranslated the content.

### **Diary Entry: Tuesday, June 5**

1. *Summary.* **TR 456v5-10** They marched to the northeast, a quarter to the north. The level terrain contained some mesquites and after four leagues they camped on the highest point on the bank of an arroyo called *Caramanchel* in previous expeditions, but Terán renamed it *San Francisco Solano*.

**M 403v5-15** They left *San Matías* after Mass and walked to the northeast through level terrain with mesquite in some sections. They walked four leagues and arrived at an arroyo abundant in water; during dry times it usually contains no water. Other expeditions called it *Caramanchel*, but Massanet changed its name to *San Lucas*. The language of the Indians called it *Guanapacti*, which means 'arroyo of two waters.' At this stop and the last one many Indians came out from the following nations: Quems, Pacpules, Ocanas, Chaguan, Pastulac, Paac. Their temporary settlements were located on the banks of the arroyo, three leagues away from *Caramanchel*. They traveled four leagues this day.

2. *Commentary.* This section highlights a divergence in direction traveled. Terán records them traveling to the north, a quarter to the northeast. Massanet claims they

traveled only in a northeasterly direction. Foster's study states the direction as north, northeast (1995: 72). Hatcher's translation contradicts the Terán manuscript for this day's entry as well. Her entry for June 5 says the expeditionary party directed its steps toward the north, a quarter northeast, a reversal of what this manuscript of Terán's diary contains in its contents.

This same reversal of directions is noted again in Hatcher's (1932: 12) English translation for the following day's entry, June 6. Terán's manuscript states that they marched to the northeast, a quarter to the north (fols. 456v11-12). Hatcher translates states that the journey continued to the north, a quarter northeast (1932: 12); Massanet also states they traveled toward the northeast.

**Diary Entry: Saturday, June 9**

*1. Summary.* **TR 457r3-11** Marching toward the north through some hills and plains, they stopped and camped after advancing six leagues along the banks of the river which was named in the previous expeditions *Hondo*. Terán renames it *San Pedro*. This land contained meadows. A storm came this night, resulting in another stampede of the horses, obliging the expedition to halt the journey on June 10. They finally recovered all of the lost animals.

**M 404419-28** They departed from *San Feliciano* and the *Río Frío*, walking to the northeast, a quarter to the east about two and a half leagues through an area thick in small mesquites. Later they entered level terrain without woods. Toward the northeast were some tall oak trees; in the east sat a tall hill. Further away but in the same direction as the tall oaks is the *Rio Hondo*. They covered five leagues and stopped on the banks of

said river, which Massanet named *San Bartholome*, the Indians called it *Guanapajao*.

This day they traveled six leagues.

2. *Commentary*: The entries for this day demonstrate one of numerous instances where the direction traveled differs in each account. Terán reports the expedition moved to the north; Massanet notes they walked in a direction to the northeast, a quarter to the east. Later in the diary, on July 1, Terán says the party traveled to the south, while Massanet observes they traveled to the east. Wide discrepancies between the geographical direction indicated in Terán and Massanet's diaries reveal that Foster relied primarily on Terán's diary. Foster's directional table seems more general than specific.

**Diary Entry: Sunday, June 10**

1. *Summary*. **TR (457r8-11)** [*olim* June 9] This night there came a terrible storm which started a stampede of the horses, obliging them to remain in this location on the 10th.

**M 404r29-404v3** On the Day of Saint Trinity they did not travel because of the previous night's stampede of the horses, which also caused the cows, mares and goats to disappear; they located them all the next day. At this stop, the Indians from the following nations left: Sanpanal, Patchal, Papanana, Parchiquis, Paquachiam, Aguapalam, Samampac, Vanca, Payauan, Patavo. To all of these were given tobacco, rosaries, knives and beads. That afternoon others from the nations Putray, Apayu and Patsau came.

2. *Commentary*. Both diaries present parallel accounts of the storm that passed through on this night causing a stampede. Whereas Massanet once again gives more detail concerning the stampede, Terán records only the stampede of horses. Massanet

adds that cows, mares and goats were lost as well. Hatcher translates *hieguas* as ‘mares.’ In other parts of the translation, she translates *yegua* as ‘stock’, a generic term concerning the various animals present on the expedition. A comparative study of all the manuscripts might shed light on the lexicon of the expedition’s livestock.

Terán once again omits the departure and arrival of the numerous and specific Indian tribes recorded in Massanet’s diary. Massanet also gives testimony of gifts he bestowed on the Indians. The contents of Massanet’s diary concerning the presence and interactions with Indians reflect the priest’s intent to evangelize the Indians in this area.

**Diary Entry: Monday, June 11**

*1. Summary. TR 457r12-22* They marched to the north, approximately 1.5 leagues, to an unnamed arroyo, because they were traveling in a different direction from the other expedition, because this route is considered shorter. From the *Río Hondo* to the Kingdom of the Techas they had a guide different from the previous expeditions. Terán named this arroyo *San Diego*. From this arroyo, the guide led them a quarter to the northeast. They marched six leagues to the banks of an even larger arroyo, which was named *San Simon*.

**M 404v4-28** They departed from *San Bartolomé* and the *Río Hondo* (today and from this stop they traveled toward the Techas through a different land and direction from the two previous expeditions). They crossed the river and traveled to the north, a quarter to the northeast through flat terrain with no trees. They also observed cedars. To pass through this area, they traveled to the east, crossing an arroyo and progressing to the northeast through level land. This land contained numerous woods of mesquite and oak

trees. After traveling about a league, there observed a high, rounded, black hill which on the north side had a forest of tall oak trees. Staying to the north of this hill, they continued to the north, and after about a half league began to climb some small hills.

2. *Commentary.* Both men's entries verify the expedition began travel on this date along a different route that had not been traversed before. Terán adds they also traveled with a different guide. Terán gives two directions: they started out headed to the north, and after coming upon an unnamed arroyo continued a quarter to the northeast (fols. 457r13, 19). By contrast, Massanet gives significantly more detail concerning the land and trail followed while maneuvering through these hills, woods, and arroyos. He records them changing directions no less than four times during the course of their journey for this day. Foster's study lists only the two directions, north and northeast, from Terán's diary as the directional indicators for this day's journey (1995: 69).

#### **Diary Entry: Tuesday, June 12**

1. *Summary.* **TR 457r23-457v1** They continued marching to the east, discovering a road after some maneuvering through the land. This terrain was similar to that found near the *Río Platta*. Many herds of buffalo also inhabited this area. They camped on the banks of another arroyo that along various points in previous expeditions was named the road of *Medina*. Terán named it *San Luis Beltran*. They walked five leagues.

**M 404v29-405r10** They departed from *San Bernabe* arroyo and walked to the northeast through a forest of oaks and mesquites. The land was very pleasant. After about a quarter league, they departed the forest in front of a tall hill. Later, they entered level terrain without trees. All of this area formed a beautiful prairie with many buffalo



and deer. From this level area a rounded hill could be seen to the northeast. Walking eastward, they arrived directly at this hill. From there another hill could be seen toward the east. They crossed this hill covered with a forest of tall mesquites. A half league further they encountered an arroyo; yet another arroyo passed below the first one and eventually joined another arroyo, which had running water, but was dry in some parts. They walked five leagues and stopped after crossing the arroyo, which was named *San Basilio*, and in the language of the Indians it was called *Penapay*.

2. *Commentary.* This entry highlights the different names each assigns to places. Terán observes that it had been named *Medina* before, indicating that the route may have not been as different as believed from the entry of June 11.

### **Diary Entry: Wednesday, June 13**

1. *Summary.* **TR 457v2-19** They marched to the east five leagues through a land of fine country, the most wonderful in New Spain. They camped along the banks of an arroyo adorned by many trees – cedars, willows, *tarayes*, willows, oaks and others. Terán named this place *San Antonio de Padua* because it was his day. They discovered temporary settlements inhabited by the Peyaye and observed their actions and movements. Terán saw docility, affection and natural inclination toward the Spaniards, and very agreeable toward us. Terán also saw the possibility of moving them to the Spanish outposts, one located the presidio on the *Rio Grande*, and another one at this location. The distance between these two places would encompass many different nations. They did not travel on the June 14 because it was the Day of Corpus Christi.

**M 405r11-25** They departed from *San Basilio* after Mass, walking to the northeast and a quarter to the east. They left behind some hills covered with forests of oak and mesquite. This land was very good. Then they entered a flat land, walking to the east and before arriving at the river, they saw other hills covered with large oaks. The banks of the river contained many trees – cottonwoods, oaks, cedars, mulberries and many vines. There are many fish in the river and many wild chickens live in this area. This day there were so many buffalo that the horses stampeded and forty head ran away. With some hard work the soldiers recovered them. They discovered in this stop the settlements of the Indians of the Payay nation. It is a large nation and the land where they live is very good. To this stop Massanet gave the name *San Antonio de Padua* because it was his day. In the language of the Indians it is called *Yanaguana*. They walked five leagues this day.

2. *Commentary.* Both accounts confirm the presence of the Payay Indian nation. This is also one of the only times when both men assign the same name to a campsite. Massanet's habit of naming places following the days of the Saints reflects the spiritual emphasis of his mission. A comparative study of the liturgical calendar from 1691 might add validity to the recordings contained in Massanet's diary.

**Diary Entry: Thursday, June 14**

1. *Summary.* **TR (457v18-19)** They did not march because it was the Day of Corpus Christi.

**M 405r26-405v17** They did not travel because the Indians were here. Massanet ordered a tall cross erected and in front of the cross was a canopy of cottonwoods where

they placed the altar. All the priests said Mass, and Governor Terán de los Ríos, Captain Martínez and the majority of the soldiers attended High Mass. Then they fired off many salutes with their guns. The Indians were present for all of this. After Mass, Massanet began explaining to the Indians, through the Captain of the Pacpau Indian nation that the Mass and the gunshot salutes shot off by the Spaniards were meant to demonstrate honor, worship and adoration to God. Afterwards, the Indians received gifts of rosaries, *navacuelas*, beads, knives and tobacco. Massanet gave the captain a horse. In the midst of the Indian settlement was a tall wooden cross which the Indians said they knew the Christians used in their homes and villages. They respected the crosses a great deal because it pleased Him who was God and Lord of all.

As the expeditionary party departed the following day the captain of the Payay, in action of thanks, said that he wanted to accompany Terán and Massanet and guide them to the settlement of the Chomanes Indians. The chief also sent four Indians from his people who were to assist the Spaniards in herding the stock.

2. *Commentary.* This passage demonstrates Massanet's intense focus on placing more detail in his diary, especially concerning contact made with the Indians he wanted to convert to Christianity. Terán's diary gives none of these details. In mentioning the Indian captain, Massanet's diary implies a pleasant relationship with the leader of these people, thus facilitating the anticipated conversion of the rest of his tribe. Massanet characterizes the man as helpful and already possessing desire for Christianity. Massanet's entry also reflects the potential ease with which their missionary effort could

spread to the land of the Chomanes based on the favorable opinion the Payay chief would communicate to other tribes.

**Diary Entry: Friday, June 15**

*1. Summary.* **TR 457v20-27** They moved from the east today and marched five leagues through land like the previous region. There were many buffalo and oak trees. They deemed this land suitable for being cultivated. They made camp above the banks of a certain arroyo containing a great deal of water, which was named *San Ignacio de Loyola*. This night there came a big storm.

**M 405v18-26** They left *San Antonio de Padua* and walked to the east, a quarter to the northeast through level land without trees. Along the road were many hills filled with oaks. The entire day they walked in the same direction and covered five leagues. They stopped in an arroyo with no running water in some parts. There were many buffalo. The lagoons held an abundance of alligators and fish. This post was name *Santa Cressencia* because it was her day. The Indians called it *Smatiniguiapacomisem*, which means ‘river in which there are colors to paint the leather shields.’

*2. Commentary.* Terán records they walked from the east, while Massanet records to the east, a quarter to the northeast. Again, Massanet includes detail concerning the animal life found in the arroyo. Massanet, by contrast, makes no mention of the storm referred to in Terán’s entry for the day.

**Diary Entry: Saturday, June 16**

*1. Summary.* **TR 457v28-458r4** They marched in the direction of the banks of another arroyo, which Terán named *Santo Domingo*. They traveled four leagues. The land was like the previous and had even more trees.

**M 405v27-406r10** They departed from *Santa Cressencia* and walked to the northeast, a quarter to the east, through flat land containing no trees. To the north were small hills covered with a few trees. From this place a tall hill with a forest of tall oaks could be seen. They walked toward them, traveling on the north side of the hill. Along this hill were many mesquite woods. Later, they descended to a dry arroyo. It had tall mulberry trees, pecan trees, vines, oaks and hackberry trees. Following the same direction, they arrived at a low-lying area with a mesquite woods. Further along was an arroyo with running water. The water of this arroyo was hot and salty; within the arroyo and from the same water was a rock, which through an opening had beautiful cold water. This day they walked four leagues and Massanet named this place *San Felix* because it was his day and because it was a happy day with many buffalo, chicken, fish and cold water. The Indians called this place *Populacsap*.

*2. Commentary.* Terán gives no direction traveled in his entry for this day. Massanet also gives more details concerning the plants.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION**

The historical foundations of the American Southwest are rooted in the diaries of early Spanish expeditions. Terán and Massanet's expedition represented Spain's first organized and overt attempt to conquer, colonize and convert the Techas Indians and their allies living in the northern frontier of New Spain. Scholars need reliable access to the accounts of this journey and their divergent content in order to properly contextualize and study them in the overarching framework of Spain's expeditionary efforts in the New World. Reliable transcriptions of these documents directly impacts the accuracy and trustworthiness of studies based on these documents. To date, the author found that historical studies of the Terán-Massanet dairies base their content on Terán's diary, hybrid translations or Hatcher's imprecise and erroneous translation. These scholarly transcriptions of the two diaries and the preliminary analysis of the expedition based on these transcriptions provide several conclusions and point to areas for future study.

Previous studies acknowledge that the diaries contain inconsistencies, yet none details the dissimilarities. Some discrepancies reflected in the diaries stem from differences that arise between two men with different motives, perspectives and visions concerning the future of New Spain. Terán, the commander of the stock, supplies and

soldiers, represented the powerful, militaristic and conquering might of the Spanish Crown. Massanet, the spiritual leader and ambassador to the Indians, stood as the symbolic link between the desires of the King and the Cross to spread Spain's geographic and spiritual dominion among the land of the Tejas Indians.

The divergent information encountered in the diaries falls may be categorized as daily distances traveled, direction traveled, daily description of the terrain being traversed, names assigned to campsites and bodies of water, presence or absence of Indians on a given day, tribes present on a particular day, characterizations of the Indians' behavior, and events that occur during a day. Massanet and Terán's accounts also contrast when they record the number of people at gatherings and the number of animals lost or recovered. Concerning the daily distances traveled in the period May 26-August 2, the men differ in twenty-two entries. Concerning the daily direction traveled, they contrast in no less than thirty-three entries. In each of these instances, Massanet describes the changes in direction of the expeditionary party, and also the directions followed by rivers, streams, woods, and hills. As noted in the previous chapter, each expeditionary assigns new names to campsites, as well as rivers, streams and creeks, even to those with previously assigned names. This led to confusion of names in future expeditions and has resulted in debates among scholars who study the geography and history of Texas (Castañeda 1936-1958; Foster 1995).

The analysis of the first month of the diary permits other conclusions. The imprecision and inaccuracy encountered in Hatcher's English translation demonstrates the need for a comparison of her translation with the original manuscripts of my

transcriptions. Based on the amount of erroneous information found in this sample portion, scholars need a more accurate and precise translation. The names of the marine life is valuable for many disciplines. The confusion from translating both the Spanish word for 'clam' (*almeja*) and a 'bass' (*robalo*) into 'perch' in English suggests the importance of a better English translation. The study also suggests the need for a linguistic comparison of all extant copies of both men's diaries, and a complete transcription of Terán's expedition.

Both co-leaders mention the previous expeditions of De León, and because the first leg of their journey retraced his journeys into the territory, a comparison of his account of distances and directions traveled, names of places and bodies of water, and Indians encountered would help contextualize and clarify the information in the diaries of Terán and Massanet. Also, a future study of the plant life mentioned by De León could enhance the botanical knowledge of early Texas. Terán's entry of May 19 (fol. 454v18-28) identifies the presence of *tarayes*. It is difficult to identify this plant with precision because the definitions and descriptions offered in current and historical dictionaries contain wide variations. Massanet's entry of May 19 (401v19) records the presence of *nopales*, which Hatcher translates as 'prickly pear.' It is difficult to identify this plant with certainty because over thirty different species of Latin species *Opuntia lindheimeri* (cactus) have been identified (Vines 1960).

The limited scope of this preliminary study demonstrates the value of an expanded anthropological and archeological study of the tribes named and the relationships with them fostered by Terán and Massanet. The latter portions of



Massanet's diary expand on the amount of information and commentary he records about the Indians of the Tejas region. Further insight into the locations, descriptions and relations with the Indians can be found in correspondence with government and church officials written by both men. A multilingual glossary of the Indian terms recorded by Massanet and their corresponding Spanish meanings could provide useful linguistic and ethnological insights into the indigenous people who inhabited this region during the late seventeenth century.

This thesis establishes the importance and need for reliable transcriptions of historical documents. It also provides the solid information to be learned from these transcriptions and suggests areas for future study. As historians, linguists, philologists, ethnographers, archeologists, anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars revisit the history of the Americas with more frequency, it is important that scholarly editions provide accurate and accessible documents for study.

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## EDUCATION

- M.A., Modern Languages Texas A&M University. May, 2004.
- B.A. Spanish, The University of Texas-Tyler. August, 2004. Magna Cum Laude

## PUBLICATIONS

- Jordan, Sheila P. and Erendira Melgoza, trans. "Articular el espacio: El establecimiento militar de gente de color libre en el México colonial de la Conquista hasta la Independencia." *Calaloo* Vol. 27:1 (2004).

## SCHOLARLY PRESENTATIONS

- "Territorialidad como teoría textual de (trans)culturación por la voz autobiográfica."  
6th Annual Cultural Encounters Conference: Power, Gender and Nation: Dilemmas of Criticism  
Panel: Perspectivas híbridas: Memoria y territorialidad en la narrativa latina de los Estados Unidos. Tulane University. April 3-5, 2003.
- "Expedition into Texas, 1691: One Journey, Two Diaries."  
Tradition and Change: SCOLAS Annual Conference – Southwest Council of Latin American Studies. San Antonio, Texas. March 18-20, 2004.
- "Writing and Re-Righting History: Revisiting a Colonial Spanish Expedition."  
University of Texas at Austin 14<sup>th</sup> Colloquium of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures and Romance Linguistics. Austin, Texas [April 10, 2004].

## GRANTS AND AWARDS

- College of Arts and Sciences Graduate Student Scholarship, Fall 2002 – Spring 2004
- Cushing/Glasscock Graduate Travel Grant, March, 2004
- Texas A&M Association of Former Students Outstanding Graduate Student in Research, March, 2004
- Nominee, Texas A&M Association of Former Students Outstanding Graduate Student in Teaching, March, 2004
- Summer Institute Universidad de La Mancha Toledo, Spain. Grant, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura, y Deporte, Spain, March, 2004